It Began at Tranquebar

A HISTORY OF THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSION IN INDIA

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E. Arno Lehmann

IT BEGAN AT TRANQUEBAR

THE STORY OF THE TRANQUEBAR MISSION AND THE BEGINNINGS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA PUBLISHED TO CELEBRATE THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANDING OF THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AT TRANQUEBAR IN 1706

BY

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INTRODUCTION

This book is written at the request of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India. The instructions reached me late and had to be carried out in addition to my work at the University and current administrative duties. In view of the time limit, and the needs of the reading public and the price of the book, I had to deny myself writing a detailed and complete history of the Danish-Halle Mission, as I was tempted to do. This would have meant a book of 600-800 pages. The desirable goal seemed to be to put out a readable book with the extensive material concentrated under broad viewpoints.

For this work I had available the ample mission archives of the Halle orphanage, founded by that great benefactor of the Tranquebar Mission, Prof. A. H. Francke. Through the recently granted and generously financed Research Commission of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, it has finally become possible to take in hand and register the previously neglected archives, and classify them. Unfortunately, this work was not quite complete when I wrote this book.

I hope that the pressure of work and the shortage of time will not show too many flaws or deficiencies in this book. It is the earnest desire of the author that this Jubilee Edition may serve to strengthen in the hearts of readers that love for the *Ecclesia Catholica et Apostolica*, out of which it has been written.

Thanks are due to my assistant, Gottfried Werther, for his work in the Indian section of the Mission Archives, and for the great help in preparing the manuscript. Further, I wish to thank the Rev. and Mrs. Lutz, for taking care of the English version, and the Rev. Prof. Jacob Kumaresan of Gurukul, Madras for seeing the book through the press.

MARTIN LUTHER UNIVERSITY
HALLE-WITTENBERG.

E. ARNO LEHMANN

To

THE TAMIL EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

which it was my privilege to serve as a missionary

FOREWORD

The Quarter Millennium Jubilee Celebrations which begin in January 1956 commemorate the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries on Indian soil on July 9,1706. Dr. Arno Lehmann, Professor of Religions and Missions at the Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg and the Dean of the Theological Faculty which is the successor to the famous Wittenberg Faculty of Luther and Melanchthon, has honoured the celebrations by contributing in this book the fruits of his researches on Protestant missionary work in India. It is a remarkable achievement that, within so short a time, he was able to make his German manuscript available for translation and our thanks are also due to Rev. Martin J. Lutz of the Missouri Synod, Wynaad, for his work as translator.

It has been possible to publish the book at its present subsidised price owing to special donations which have been received from the United Lutheran Church in America, the Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Jeypore Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission, the Church of Sweden Mission, the Danish Missionary Society, the American Lutheran Church Mission, the Swedish Evangelical Missionary Society and the Santal Mission. Our thanks are due to these donors and also to the publishers who have so willingly undertaken the publication of several of the Jubilee publications as their contribution to the celebrations.

It is our hope that the insight which this book will give into early missionary activities in India will serve as an incentive to future missionary work both in India and throughout the world. Those in India today who inherit the fruits of the early beginnings at Tranquebar have cause to be thankful that the Tranquebar Mission had both international and ecumenical foundations. This is a fact which deserves to be more widely known and if the Tranquebar Celebrations and the Jubilee publications help Christians in India and elsewhere to know the story of the beginning of Protestant mission work, they will have successfully served their purpose.

J. Kumaresan,
Chairman, Board of Publication,
Federation of Evangelical
Lutheran Churches in India.

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PART I

THE FOUNDATION IS LAID

CHAPTER I

READY TO GO

'Get us the men, Doctor!' cried King Frederick IV of Denmark to his Court Chaplain, Dr. Luetkens. By 'men', the King meant missionaries.

While still only Crown Prince, Frederick had given thought to the heathen. He wondered why nobody in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of his country had thought of bringing the Gospel to non-Christians in other parts of the world. When he became King, he commanded the high dignitaries of his Church to find missionaries—but only in his German Court Chaplain, Dr. Luetkens, did he find the man who, 'with joy brought the fuel to set in blaze this flame'.

Unfortunately no pastor in Denmark was found ready to become a missionary. Also, when Dr. Luetkens approached Bishop Bornemann, he is supposed to have declared '*Studiosi Danci non idonei sunt ad hoc opus, illi dediti sunt, luxuriae, crapulae, ignaviae, scortationibus*', in which Latin words he expressed his fears that Danish students were luxury-loving, drinking, lazy, adulterous, and would be unfit candidates for this work. Perhaps this sarcastic answer shows us that the Bishop was annoyed because he personally knew of no suitable candidates and was anxious to get out of his embarrassment. At any rate even if this answer did not express the truth, it expressed very clearly the unwillingness and inability of the Bishop to comply with the wish of the king.

Consequently, the first 'Royal Danish Missionaries' were not Danes, but Germans. Dr. Luetkens turned to his friends in Germany, Pastors Lysius and Campe in Berlin. Of them he inquired whether they knew of any young men ready to set out to India, as he had first planned, or to Africa, as was later decided.

Yes, there were men! Dr. Luetkens received without delay the answer, that there were two fine men who feared God with their whole heart, sufficiently grounded in the saving Doctrine, heartily commended by pious theologians and pastors, and also happy to accept this commission.

Of these two, the senior was Heinrich Pluetschau, who was born in 1677 at Wesenberg in Mocklenburg. To him belongs

the honour of being the co-founder of the Tranquebar Mission, even though his great colleague takes precedence over him because of his outstanding achievements, and tenacity in his work. Both had been under Dr. Lange as students of the Friedrich Werder Gymnasium in Berlin. They had known each other while at the University of Halle, had common friends, and had sat at the feet of the same instructors. Pluetschau entered Halle University as a student of theology on 20th May, 1702.

The junior candidate for the mission project, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, came from Pulsnitz in Saxony. When speaking of the Tranquebar Mission, his name is usually mentioned first. He was not only *the* founder of Indian Protestant missions, he *was* the Tranquebar Mission. He became the father and builder of the church, translator of the Bible and Hymn book, and an authority in matters of the Indian language and religion. Among the great names of Indian Church history, his has a special radiance, in spite of the judgment of a Roman Catholic historian, 'There is not much to report of Ziegenbalg, for it does not seem that his life offers much material for history'.

Historians have been fascinated by Ziegenbalg, especially his youth and development. According to the records of the church book of Pulsnitz, the birth date of Ziegenbalg is given as different from that usually accepted. Therefore we should accept his birthday as the 10th of July, 1682. Of special interest is the fact that latest research has shown that Ziegenbalg was related to the philosopher Fichte and the sculptor and professor E. F. August Rietschel. In spite of the supposition that Ziegenbalg's parents were in modest circumstances, it should be noted that Ziegenbalg's father was a man of property, if not rich. The city register of 1686 shows that he was paying the fourth highest municipal tax.

Nowadays, Ziegenbalg would not qualify as a missionary. He lacked the two indispensible prerequisites, a degree and good health. The records at Halle certify that Ziegenbalg had 'attended two neighbouring Universities'. His 'attendance', probably at Jena and Wittenberg, might have been only nominal. The record also states that Ziegenbalg 'preferred the local Friedrichs-University to others'. The matriculation-entry record shows '1703, May 7: Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, Pulsnitz'. So he actually attended the University of Halle, and followed the course of studies as directed by his professors with good progress, especially as the professors took a fatherly

interest and showed him the shortcuts to the attainment of real wisdom. He studied for one semester in this way.

In spite of his Christian life and devotion to study, his physical infirmity again overtook him. Thus he was severely tested and even wondered whether his physical infirmity might not compel him to choose some other line like business or agriculture instead of study. Among other difficulties hypochondria is mentioned. Medicines did not help him. His soul suffered along with his body. 'Wherever I was, the cross followed me.' He had to 'constantly take medicine and force himself to study.'

So Ziegenbalg had little to recommend him as a good missionary. But God used this weak and unimpressive tool in a wonderful way. With Charles Wesley he could have sung:

> 'Faith, mighty faith, the promise sees
> And looks to God alone;
> Laughs at impossibilities
> And cries: it shall be done!'

What he wrote on 22 August, 1708 from Tranquebar applied to his whole life, 'love . . . makes light what to others seems hard and almost impossible'.

The enquiry whether he would go to India reached him when he was spending time at Werder, near Berlin, due to his bodily afflictions; he was completely surprised. Unfortunately we do not have his letter of reply. In it his surprise must have been reflected. He was concerned to serve God, but at the same time was afraid of deciding selfishly. So we can understand that his answer was neither a full 'yes' nor a full 'no'. 'Therefore I sent him such a reply as would fit the purpose for which I am in this world and would neither completely accept the proposition nor reject it.'

The Berlin theologians interpreted the letter as a clear 'yes' and wrote accordingly to Copenhagen. Ziegenbalg found this out three weeks later when he returned to Berlin and met Professors Lange, Lysius, Campe, and others. He realized that they had 'concluded from his letter that I would accept the call. I excused myself partly because of my unworthiness and immaturity, partly because of my physical infirmity, which made it unlikely, according to human calculation, that I could stand such a long and difficult trip and pointed out other circumstances and difficulties, with the request fully to reconsider them. I continued in prayer and supplication to God that He would not lead me into temptation, but give me full conviction as to His will. But as they continued

to press me, and I began to be convinced of the certainty of the divine call, I finally decided to take upon myself this important work even without consulting my friends. Now I was informed that we should be sent to Africa or Guiana. Nevertheless, I set out with my co-worker Heinrich Pluetschau on the mail coach and went on 8th October, 1705, in the name of the Lord, and with many wishes for divine blessing from Berlin to Copenhagen. For travel expenses, 200 Taler (Rs. 600) was sent to us by His Majesty the King'.

Without taking leave of his friends, he set out, on his journey. He was all for His Lord and His service. The day before leaving Germany, Ziegenbalg wrote in great haste a farewell letter to Prof. Francke in Halle, informing him, his teacher and spiritual father, of the great crisis and decision about his life. Praising God for His marvellous and wise guidance, he requested his professor, along with all friends and children of God in Halle, that they include them daily in their prayers. The missionaries also would pray for their friends in the homeland. Only through this letter did Francke first hear anything about the newly planned mission work. So far he had been neither informed nor consulted in the choice of the missionaries. The two missionaries travelled to Copenhagen with the idea that they would be sent to Africa. Only in Copenhagen did they get the information that they were to go to India to the Danish colony at Tranquebar. Since 1620 Tharangampadi, the queen of the Coromandel coast, had been a Danish possession. It was a strip of land five miles by three miles for which a yearly rent of Rs. 3111 had to be paid to the king of Tanjore. As real missionaries both were ready to be sent anywhere.

They continued in this willing spirit even when many problems arose and the weeks of waiting in Copenhagen were depressing. As in most parts of Europe, the Christians in Denmark were of the opinion that 'there was enough watering to do in Christendom in Europe before going to other parts of the world to do more planting'. No wonder then that the young apostles were considered romantic enthusiasts and had to counter many arguments by opponents of the Mission. Would we today have an ecumenical Christendom if these missionaries, these bridge builders of ecumenicity, had listened to these whisperings and attacks?

A very peculiar difficulty arose from the unfriendly position taken by Bishop Bornemann, by whom the two candidates were to be given a theological examination. He failed both of them.

They had shown themselves as disciples of pietism. The Bishop accordingly informed the King that these men were pietists. But the king ordered a second examination, and after three days both passed! Dr. Luetkens was present and relates that Bishop Bornemann exclaimed three times during the course of the examination, 'How these men have changed!' It was true then as it is true today that if candidates are to pass an examination, one must ask them what they know and not what they do not know. To understand the Bishop's position, one must take into consideration the fact that in this examination two theological opinions came into collision. And perhaps the young and not always gentle Ziegenbalg, whose confessional zeal and integrity of character did not permit him to win anything by compromise or smooth words, should have shown that moderation which later on even August Hermann Francke urged upon him. His biographer, at any rate, calls him a hothead and deplores his behaviour in Copenhagen as downright provocative. We do not cut down Ziegenbalg's stature by not concealing this, for he was, neither in his youth nor later on, 'a saint'. He too had to fight with sin and live through daily forgiveness.

The King wanted both missionaries to be ordained by the Bishop. The Bishop was not willing but had to submit to the King's will. Consequently, the missionaries were ordained on 11th November, 1705. In a Lutheran church they were ordained and on a confession of the Lutheran church they were commissioned. Thus the first Indian missionaries of the Protestant church were Lutherans. For more than one reason this fact must be noticed because it has its consequences.

Ziegenbalg sent his friends detailed reports of the trip. On 29th November, 1705, they boarded the *Princessa Sophia Hedwiga*, which set out for the great voyage on 30th November. On the trip both missionaries beheld the works of the Lord and His wonders in the deep. They soon learned to know the mysteries of seasickness along with other pleasanter experiences. 'In lovely weather we sat on the upper-deck and let the beautiful prospect of the heavens and the sea cheer our spirits, also using the opportunity to consider the Glory to come....' They saw flying fish and even a so-called devil fish which 'looked altogether horrible'. 'Now and then we tried to praise God by choral and instrumental music.' They experienced sun and heat, normal and dangerous seas. At the Cape of Good Hope they halted from April 23 up to May 8, 1706. They wondered why 'the Hottentots' had never been directed to the Christian faith. Ziegenbalg got acquainted with them and

conversed with them in low German. He took the trouble to inquire about their way of living and about their religious conditions, writing home about them. It shows his love as well as his sober frame of mind that he gave the representatives of this 'really miserable people' not only time and friendship, but money—and several pounds of tobacco! This is all the more interesting because also at other times in the history of missions, tobacco has been used not infrequently as a means of exchange, as a gift of friendship, and as an opener of doors. As could be expected, the young missionaries, together and privately, carried on *exercitia pietatis* and took up serious studies. Pluetschau focused his theological thinking on Truth; Ziegenbalg, inspired by the name of the ship, Sophia, meditated on Wisdom. In his preface of 18th July, 1707, he stated that these meditations 'gave me a great peace of mind, so that neither the howling of the wind nor the roar of the violent waves nor the confusion and shouting of the ship's crew could disturb me in my thoughts. On the contrary, with God's help I was able to keep myself in such a state that I was ready for everything, either to live or to die'. This meditation Ziegenbalg was able to write down completely only after he got to India. He dedicated it to the Danish Princess Sophia Hedwiga. This first work of the still young Ziegenbalg is available in print entitled somewhat like this: 'General Discipline in true Wisdom in which it is shown to everyone out of God's word and personal experience how one should seek wisdom in this world, find and attain it and thereby obtain salvation here and in eternity. Written on the great ocean of the world in a ship, the Sophia, by Barth. Ziegenbalg, Leipzig 1710.'

A hitherto unknown letter from Ziegenbalg of 25th September, 1706, the addressee of which is unfortunately not known, relates about the further journey, the arrival in Tranquebar and the experiences and plans made during the first weeks there. It is a good example of his correspondence.

> I hope that my letter of 29th April from Cape of Good Hope sent via England has been received and that you are acquainted with our voyage from Copenhagen and our continued well-being, so that I need not repeat. From there we sailed on May 8th, heading several hundred miles south and then due east, and finally west. We came into bitter cold. The mighty storming of the winds, besides lightning, thunder and hail, accompanied us almost the whole time, so that on one occasion the great mast broke into three pieces and a few days later a fore mast, followed. Often, we were on one side of the ship immersed in the sea as if we would never come up again. Due to this, everything in the ship was thrown

about. On May 21st we sailed past the great island of Madagascar and shortly thereafter came to the tiny isle Mauritius. From here on I started writing a book about true Wisdom, as a perpetual remembrance that I had been her scholar for a long time on the great world-ocean on a ship bearing the name Sophia, (Wisdom). I thought of dedicating it either to the Royal Princess Sophia Hedwiga or to the King of Denmark himself. But due to lack of time, I could only complete 26 chapters, so that half still remains to be done and thus it could not be sent off to Denmark. On June 13th we again passed the Tropic of Capricorn. Then it started getting warm again. Now we received visits every day from many birds, and such stupid ones that they flew right into our hands. Soon it became very hot. On July 22nd (June ?), we once more passed the Equator. Shortly afterwards we did not know where we were, because we could not find Ceylon until finally we saw that we were near Adam's Bridge and had strayed into the Bay of Comorin. A few years before, a Danish ship was stranded here. As we sailed back, but still could see no land on July 5th, we again became very anxious as to whether we were going the right course and whether in unfamiliar waters we might not hit a rock. While such thoughts were in our minds, behold, the danger before our eyes: two large rocks rose out of the sea! We would not have noticed them, had not a strong wind caused a violent splashing of the waves against them. In this way, we were wonderfully saved by God out of this danger and at the same time shown where we were, because Ceylon was nearby, but we had not been able to see it because of mist. Then we sailed around this beautiful island and so closely that we could see the elephants on shore. On July 9th we finally arrived here safely and were received with great rejoicing. The goodness and grace of the Lord, which was revealed to us abundantly in this dangerous voyage, be praised ever and always, Amen.

When we stepped on shore, as fresh and healthy as we had entered the ship, and were seen by the Malabar people, much questioning arose, who we were, and for what purpose we had come. At first we could not speak with them at all, because we understood neither Portuguese nor the Malabar language. However, we made it our chief care to become acquainted with their language as soon as possible. I got a Malabaree as servant, who came out of a noble family and can speak the Portuguese language well. He also has to be our tutor in this. What else happened in this connection, and how he straight away decided to become a Christian would be too lengthy to tell in full. We have something that is especially rare, the New Testament and also a grammar in the Portuguese language, by constantly reading which, we have come so far that we can already speak and teach. Even though this language might be enough for our work, since in my servant I have a good interpreter who can explain everything which I say in Portuguese to the Malabarees in their own language, we have already begun with the Malabar language, for which I keep a heathen tutor in my house.

This is a very difficult language, which cannot be learnt without much time and effort.

A few days ago I translated into Portuguese a short instruction in Christianity in thirty-six principles along with a prayer for true repentance and the Lord's Prayer and am having it put into the Malabar language, hoping to do this with the whole Christian teaching, so that all these heathen might thereby come to a sufficient conviction that God has earnestly offered and desired to give them grace for their conversion so that they might come to a knowledge of His truth. I have also begun to set up a dictionary in which I first write each word with its Malabar letters and also in Latin characters as it should be pronounced and then its meaning. It would be well if this language were taught with equal zeal in Europe as any other Oriental tongue, since the Malabarees are a great and innumerable people, who might thus be helped out of the heathen darkness through God's grace, if all Evangelical kings and potentates would help by providing the means. Besides, we should thus be able to understand from their writings the mystery of their theology and philosophy out of which one might extract much that is good and sensible. Indeed, I must confess that my 70 year old tutor often asks such questions to make me realize that in their philosophy everything is by no means so unreasonable as we in our country usually imagine about such heathen. They are so clever that if they heard the learned men in Europe dispute on the rostrum about logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics, they would laugh scornfully and consider such skill as the greatest stupidity, because they like free, unrestrained and clear speaking with good reasoning and do not indulge in figures of speech, considering that the time spent in strange and wonderful colours could be better used in examining the truth itself. I am trying diligently to get behind all their secrets and am therefore having many of their writings copied at great expense. If they did not have such a great regard for me and also feel my genuine love for them, they would not let me have these at all, even if I should give them a gold piece for every page. My old tutor often spends the whole day with me in discussion, through which I have already obtained quite an insight into their gods and idol worship. I intend to make a Christian of him, and he hopes that I may eventually become a Malabaree. Therefore he tries to show me everything very plainly, so that I could not wish it better. The name of Christ has become so hated and despised among them because of the offensive and shameful life of the Christians that they think a worse people could not be found in the whole world than the Christians. Therefore they will neither eat nor drink with any Christian nor permit such in their house. Consequently it is going to be very difficult to accomplish anything among them, especially as they have such arguments to prove the correctness of their views. Their books are all filled with cheerful and attractive things, so that in contrast the living Word of God seems to present only dreary matters. So

it requires God's power if anyone finds his way out of these obstacles and decides to become a Christian, especially as this decision means that he must at the same time lose all his property and friends. Nevertheless, I am sure that God will let this work begin with special blessings and I see that a strong movement has already started among them. For this reason I am diligently and confidently working with my dear colleagues regardless whether the proclamation of the Gospel must be sealed with our blood. Therefore nothing is more necessary for us than ample resources in money, so that we may somehow support those who may become Christians lest they give even greater offence by having to beg their bread from the heathen. We also have a plan to begin a school, in which from 18, to 20 Malabar boys whom we have brought up may be instructed in their own and in the German language as well as in the Christian doctrine and later on be used with great profit for the work, if not by us, then by our successors—but for this also we need considerable capital. Again, to translate the Christian doctrine into the Malabar language, make thousands of copies of the same, and distribute among the heathen calls for large expenditure. Other useful plans I should like to relate if there was time. We have therefore written a letter about this to Berlin and to Halle requesting our dear friends, as children of God, to make a collection for this work and send the same with the very next ship. Should any other friends there want to contribute something out of love to God, they may send the same speedily to Professor Francke in Halle who, I hope, is sending a favourable reply to my letter. Of course we have reported all these matters, according to our conscience, to His Royal Majesty of Denmark and hope that he will show himself very generous in this. However, since so much money was required for the beginning of this work from him, we would not be getting too much even if all Evangelical Christians would contribute something. Moreover, the more funds sent us, the more schemes could be started. Indeed I and my loyal colleague, unwearied from working amid struggles and opposition both by speaking and writing have decided to contribute ourselves every day (writing mistake, must mean every year) 200 Taler from our salary for this, confident that the Lord's bank will pay good interest. Everyday we are making good contacts with Moors and Malabarees, who themselves give us opportunities to realize our purpose. Just a few days ago a Malabar woman came to us and presented very well prepared Indian sweets. I said that in the life to come we would eat the real confectionery at God's own table. She replied that we should pray for her so that she also might then be with us and enjoy the same. She believed in the same God, even though she did not yet know Him, and had realized that this was not the real life, because she was born a princess, but through loss of her properties had become an ordinary woman, yet she was content all the same, hoping that in the future life she would be better off. That sort of conversation we have almost every day and God will

not withhold his blessings. Oh, may the Lord have mercy on these poor heathen and give means and opportunities to help them out of their darkness. May He also consider the corrupt Christendom and let many good missionaries be sent for them also, so that the Christians may show the heathen the way, by themselves repenting, and thus give them a good example to follow.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNING

On 9th July, 1706, Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau landed in Tranquebar. The memorial on the maidan in Tranquebar near the sea today reminds the visitor to the decaying city of the historical fact that at this spot two and a half centuries ago Evangelical mission work began in India with these two Lutheran missionaries. No Indian Church history and no complete presentation of the world-wide expansion of Christianity can leave this date unnamed. Through the event of that day, Tranquebar has become one of the most important names for all time to the Indian Church, as well as dear and famous to all Christendom.

Not that Christianity came to India only for the first time on that day. In connection with the question of permitting foreign missionaries in India, Prime Minister Nehru has reminded his people that Indian Christianity is as ancient as Christianity itself, and therefore cannot be considered as a foreign or European religion. A stubborn tradition, which has so far never been definitely proved or disproved, ascribes the introduction of Christianity into India to Apostle Thomas. Whatever view one takes of this, so much is definite, that there were Christians already in India before the fourth century. At any rate, the Portuguese found in the south a very large Christian community who used Syriac as their church language, and had strong connections with the Nestorians in Mesopotamia.

Long before 1706 the Church of Rome had been active in India. Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau were not even the first Protestant Christians or clergymen on Indian soil. Dutch, English, and Danish merchants first represented Evangelical Christianity in India and especially in south India beginning with the 17th Century. It must be said, however, that they were not good representatives of the Christian faith. Most of them were 'certainly not the people to win Hindus or Moslems', on the contrary, their life was shameful. All these groups of

Europeans brought their chaplains with them. These however, considered it their duty to serve only the European community and their servants, including in the case of the Danes, even the slaves whom they had made from the crews of captured vessels. So much has been confirmed by Dr. Luetkens. 'At a neighbouring university, the name of which is not given, but which is probably Wittenberg, a public disputation took place in 1708 about 'false apostles'. The missionaries were accused of having made a business out of their piety and turned their activity to profit, but had refused to join the pastors who had already gathered a Malabar congregation.' Dr. Luetkens contested this in a letter of 19th March, 1709. Should that debater have meant that the Danish chaplains had gathered a congregation 'which consisted of converted heathens....then he was very much in error, becuase the Danish chaplains had never gathered a congregation of heathens, as indeed their call, on the strength of which they are put in charge of the Danish Christian congregation, did not require this of them'.

Of course, such a narrowing down of the duty to witness because of official duties to the congregation, we do not admit. From the Scriptures we know that every Christian should, as Luther says, 'spread around him like a wild fire' the faith by which he lives and that a Christian in any place 'where there are no other Christians, needs no special call than that he believes in Christ, and has the inner call from God and is anointed. It is his duty to preach to the erring heathen or non-Christians and to teach them the Gospel out of brotherly love, even though no man has called him thereto'. This, Luther continues, is 'his duty to do on pain of his losing his own soul and incurring God's displeasure'.

At that time it seldom happened that a chaplain like the Dutch Abraham Roger, stationed near Madras, at Pulicat, 1631-1641, studied Hinduism and wrote down his researches in a 'Gentilismus Reseratus', or the English chaplain at Fort St. George in Madras, William Stevenson, took any thought for 'winning the heathen to true Christianity' (1716). Some of his opinions sound quite modern. He mentions as an 'obstacle .... the mixing of disputable opinions with the plain and necessary doctrines of the Gospel.... Nothing ought, to be taught among them, but the plain unquestionable articles of the Christian faith; in the same manner (and, as far as may be, in the same words) that the apostles used. The disputes and uncertain tenets of particular churches ought not to be mixed with the fundamental principles of our holy religion....they

ought to be set forth to the heathen in that primitive simplicity and plainness of speech which we find used in the Scripture ; and unclouded with the arbitrary impositions and pretended explications of our Christian faith which were made long after the days of the Apostles'. Then he proposes to missionary circles a 'Union .... one common Society' .... 'it will be thought proper, I suppose, and practicable, so to unite the hearts and endeavours of the several Societies in England, Denmark, and Germany, who have engaged to support the Protestant Mission, that laying aside all distrust and jealousy of one another, concerning the point of national honour in carrying on this design, and all partiality and prejudices in favour of their several schemes and opinions, they may agree to promote the glory of God and the conversion of the heathen, by all proper methods and persons, without disputing about rights, precedence, or superior direction'.

Alas, usually the chaplains came only for a few years, without the desire to learn an Indian language, without the will to serve the people. Nor was this changed when a new statute of the Danish East India Company, 20th November, 1670, stated: 'as it is to be hoped that many of the Indians if properly instructed, may be converted from heathen error, there should be at all times priests on the ships and in the territory of the company, and the King promises to support those priests who had been in the service of the company'. The chaplains had only undertaken to work three years in the colony. When this time was over, they went home on the next ship. Whoever came on this ship then took over their place, and the departing chaplain served on the home voyage on the ship and looked forward to the well earned promotion awaiting him at home. Thus a chaplain served on the field only in a temporary capacity and could count the months for the desired trip home. No wonder then that they never really settled down, never developed close ties with their congregation members, not got a grip, where a strong hand should have taken firm and unrelenting hold to delve deeply into the congregational work and help to make the Christians a light in the midst of darkness. Least of all was it to be expected that the chaplains who were usually drawn into the social whirl of the colony, should in three short years make serious efforts for the language or spiritual welfare of the Indians.

It happened that shortly before 1700 there died in Tranquebar a Dane, Magister Jacob Worm, whose epitaph (perhaps thoughtfully set up by himself) reads: 'Danish Apostle of India'. Worm was a theologian, a gifted man, but an eccentric. He was able to escape a death penalty but landed in Tranquebar as a

deportee. There he was for a while choir master. Fenger relates that he preached to the people, translated the New Testament, and even the whole Bible. We can set as much value by this report as by the statement that his body never decayed in the grave. Absolutely no traces of such an activity were found after his death—nothing of a congregation or of a Bible translation.

Thus we have to assume that in the 17th Century, up to the arrival of Ziegenbalg and Plüetschau in Tranquebar, nothing was done which could be even charitably called the beginning of mission work. Church history, therefore, holds fast to the date, 9th July, 1706, as the noteworthy event, when the missionaries Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau came to India as the first Evangelical missionaries, and that with them and only with them did the mission work of the Evangelical Church begin on Indian soil.

On this day, 9th July, 1706, the Evangelical India Mission came into being. The important reason why this has to be stated with such precision is that in English and American literature on missions, the course of events is usually given differently. The beginning of Indian missions is put later and William Carey is called 'father of Protestant missions' (W. T. Thomas). Also it is said to have been a ship's doctor (Dr. John Thomas) in the service of the East India Company, who opened the way for the earliest Protestant missionaries to India (E. H. Hume) and A. M. Chirgwin assures his readers that 'it was not till Carey arrived in 1793 that Christianity began to make itself felt in India as a whole', without even mentioning Ziegenbalg or the great Johann Philipp Fabricius (d. 1791 in Madras) or Christian Friederich Schwartz (d. 1798 in Tanjore), let alone the number of other outstanding men at the time of William Carey.

Hardly anyone seems to protest when the Whitby Report in 1948 reads that the church in India has existed for 150 years. Also a recent *Philosophy of the Christian World Mission* by E. D. Soper does not even mention the name Ziegenbalg in its historical introduction. Similarly, W. M. Morton writes of 'over a century of cooperative endeavour in the field of Christian evangelism' unaware that already in 1706 a very successful cooperation began when Denmark, Germany, and England, jointly took care of the Tranquebar Mission. And when the birth of the Protestant missions is described, not a word is said of Ziegenbalg, but only the Herrnhuter Moravian Mission, which began much later, and William Carey are mentioned. (E. Band). A

book with a fine title like *Into all the World* seems to believe that no mention of the pioneer missionary Ziegenbalg is necessary !

Even a man who was himself a missionary in India opens his German book with the startling statement that 'the first missionaries .... Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau were trained by the Moravian Society and then despatched by the Danish king' (A. Streckeisen). If even experts err thus, we must not be surprised if a layman does not know of Ziegenbalg and the Tranquebar Mission, and speaks of 'German participation in the mission task since the days of Zinzendorf'. It is gratifying therefore when W. R. Hogg gives credit to the missionaries who were actually the first, and calls William Carey 'the first of the *modern* Missionaries' (Ecumenical Foundations).

In determining this, it is not a matter of giving a certain nation or church the glory of being the first. We are dealing here with a simple, historic fact. Also the present members of the Indian Church which has grown out of Ziegenbalg's work, the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church, have no cause or inclination to boast about their 'historical priority'. Why should they ? But it belongs to their knowledge of church history and to their heritage that the Evangelical church of India had its beginning in Tranquebar. With Bishop Neill, they and others should know, that with the arrival of the missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau 'a new epoch opened in the development and expansion of the Christian society in the world', that 'these first attempts of the Lutherans were to point the way to the grandiose achievements of William Carey.... Anglo-Saxons have tended to exaggerate the part played by Carey, forgetting that he was building on the experience of the pioneers of the Eighteenth Century.' (*The Christian Society*.)

Tranquebar also became the mother city of Indian Missions. The first missionaries used the European form 'Tranquebar' in their correspondence. According to the Tamil, one should say, 'Tharangampadi' and according to a recent pamphlet of a member of the Provincial Congress Committee in nearby Porayar, we may give the meaning of this name as 'Village of Waves', 'Wave Dancer', or even as 'Wave Singer'. Our book continues to use the form 'Tranquebar', which also has been used in all ancient and modern literature.

Since 1620, this place on the coast of Coromandel as Ziegenbalg liked to write, was a Danish trading centre in India. The colony lay in the territory of the Kings of Tanjore, from whom the founders had received a strip of land for an annual rent.

In 1624 this place came into the possession of the Danish government which kept it till 1845.

To this territory belong also 15 villages, of which Porayar is mentioned as the largest, having almost as many inhabitants as Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg wrote on the 27th August, 1709, that Tranquebar was a really populous city. Whether the population of the city was really 15,000, and that of the whole colony 30,000, we only record but cannot prove. Ziegenbalg also writes that he did not know the total population. It consisted, he said, of white Europeans, half-white Portuguese, also yellow Moors (Muslims), and mostly dark brown Malabarees (Tamilians).

According to his description, there were in Tranquebar at his arrival two churches, a Roman Catholic one, and the Evangelical Zion Church. This had been built by the Danish inhabitants for their use in 1701; before that, the Danes had used a small chapel in the Dansborg. Besides the Christian churches there was also 'a large Moorish or Mohammedan church, and the Malabarees have five big Pagodas'. Tranquebar had not and still does not have today a good harbour. The ships had to wait out in the sea far away from shore. Landing was made by boats and due to the breakers was neither easy nor pleasant. The young missionaries were glad when after waiting three days at anchor, they were allowed finally to go ashore. For this delay they could thank the Captain because they had hindered his approaching a woman passenger from South Africa.

Finally, with hearts filled with gratitude, they stood on Indian soil. In a letter of 12th July, 1706, to his 'esteemed friends and patrons in the Lord', Ziegenbalg asserts that they 'were received with great joy'. It is quite clear that this great joy was meant only for the long awaited ship. For the lonely Europeans in India, this meant a new touch with the world, letters and news from Europe! The two missionaries were less heartily welcomed. Why were they needed? Two Danish clergymen seemed sufficient. These resident chaplains showed towards their fellow clergymen reserve, not without reason, but nevertheless quite unexpected, and bound to antagonize the young men just arriving.

None troubled themselves about the missionaries, not even the representatives of the local authority, because they had received no information from their superiors in Copenhagen, nor instructions about taking care of the two missionaries, nor did the Danish clergymen show any concern, not even for providing quarters for the night. The completely unexpected appearance of the two German colleagues posed the difficult question of their relation

or even subordination to them. It is natural to become indignant over such treatment, but without an understanding of the many underlying motives, it is difficult, and almost impossible for us to judge fairly. We only want to show here, what a shock these first hours must have been for these apostles. We see this plainly from a letter of 16th October, 1706: 'At first we were really dejected and found that through the offensive life of the Christians among these heathen, everything had already been destroyed. In addition we felt very plainly that among most of the Christians, our coming on the scene was looked upon as being either quite ridiculous or very antagonistic.' At first they were not even allowed to enter the city. They were left to stand for hours in the sun. Then an ordinary layman took courage, a Secretary, Attrup, and invited the two men into the house of his wife's parents, the Paulsens. Mr. Paulsen then provided them with a house to live in, owned by him. So the missionaries found their first lodging among the half-castes, the so-called Portuguese. A humble beginning. Thus, as Ziegenbalg wrote two years later, 'this holy work had to begin against great resistance'. The messengers of God discovered 'that the Gospel always has its best progress under the Cross'.

CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE—THE GATE

The young German missionaries from the beginning showed themselves as sound church builders and examples to all future missionaries in learning the language of the country. They did this at once and without delay or discussion—it seemed to them quite obvious and not a subject for debate. If one is to preach the Gospel to all creatures, this command of the Lord Jesus requires also to learn the language of every creature. In Tranquebar this meant Portuguese and Tamil. From the beginning they laid the foundation for a complete mastery of the language. Of course in the beginning they had to use the help of interpreters and translators. But their goal was to overcome this obstacle and themselves reach the highest level of mastery in the language. This goal they attained.

Their resolution and achievements seem so much more astonishing to us when we consider the conditions under which this pioneer work in the language was done. Then it is important to note that the first missionaries landed in July,

in the hot season. Today we spare the newcomers this. At that time the missionaries could not escape the heat, for Kodaikanal and other cool hill stations were unknown. Also there were no regular furloughs.

It is striking that the brethren wrote and complained very little about the heat, in contrast to Dr. Carl Graul, the first director of the Leipzig Mission, to whom it seemed 'as if the heat could at any moment kill or drive to insanity', and in Madras 'threatened to melt and break one down, as if one were breathing in fire'. Never did the missionaries use such strong expressions. They wrote about 'the unusually great heat' and about 'this very hot country'. Nevertheless Ziegenbalg also learned to know the evil of 'the red dog', even more than his colleagues. 'It is something like "prickly heat" in Europe.... My body and especially my feet all broke out so that I could neither walk nor stand. My skin was like a red cloth. The heat here is very great, especially in April, May, and June, at which season the wind blows from inland, so strongly that it seems as if the heat comes straight out of the oven.'

The heat must have seemed all the more unbearable as the European at that time dressed even less lightly than is the case today. How little they tried to make themselves comfortable we find out from Ziegenbalg himself: 'As to clothing, Europeans go about here dressed as in Europe, each one according to the custom of his country, only that in the warm season one has to wear very light silk clothes like the Indians. In the rainy season perhaps one can stand a coat of European cloth. I have to date continued to wear always an overcoat and a coat of European cloth, both of which I find good protection against the heat and against the cold.' Thus he always dressed when outside, and only in the house he wore a silk robe. The other missionaries did the same. Missionary Dal (died 1747) asks complainingly, why a missionary must always go about dressed from head to foot in black, which was a great hardship under the constant perspiration. One could not wash the black clothes. As under the black clothes one had to wear clothing, it meant going around in a double layer, whereas in the great heat even simple clothing was too much. Even Fabricius who landed only in 1740 states that he went around outside with a collar buttoned up to the top. Yes, he even mentions, as a matter of course, the indispensable wig, only he wished for one a little lighter than that used in Europe. It is also reported that the wig was replaced by a broad wide-brimmed hat. Thus they appeared to everybody, according to the words of the Danish Commandant, 'as

dignified men who went around in humility and spirituality like angels'. In spite of the heat, the lack of comfort, the different diet, and a great load of work, the ailing Ziegenbalg was usually, though unfortunately not always, 'very healthy' against all expectations. Yes, he was 'in this very hot land in much better health than in Europe'. 'My physical condition is quite bearable, and I thank God for this. While I daily continue in heavy work, I enjoy the best of health. My usual drink is half wine and water, also beer from Europe and tea-water. Now we are having our food made in the house by a cook. This was after they had bought a new house for Rs. 3,000, which was built according to their requirements.'

Under such conditions of climate and health they carried on their language study. Actually they came out only for three or five years. Was it even worthwhile to study the language? In a letter of September, 1706, Ziegenbalg explains to his European correspondents that they did not intend to remain more than three years. Owing to the work of learning the language and using what had been learnt with so much difficulty for actual mission work, Ziegenbalg later on decided not to be a 'going home' missionary as Rhenius later on called the short term missionaries, but to make mission work his life task. 'Otherwise the Mission would never make real progress if the workers were changed every three years. Each new contingent of newcomers would not even be able to maintain what their predecessors had begun, let alone be able to make some progress in their work. Certainly the Malabar language is a very difficult language and can hardly be learned by everybody within three years. It also requires much work before one can properly learn about the heathen background out of their many books .... weighing these and similar circumstances, I have often wished and still wish to be able to remain here among the heathen for my whole life, because God has led me to a complete knowledge of the Malabar language and thus opened to me a wide door to the heathen.' On 1st October, 1710 he writes to a Danish princess: '.... Even if the greatest inducements were offered me in Europe, I would rather undergo many troubles here and continue with my congregations than to leave the same and hear after my departure that due to lack of knowledge in the Malabar language, God's work among the heathen here has been slowed down'.

At first the young beginners decided to learn Portuguese. Ziegenbalg in a letter of 16th September, 1706 wrote why that was necessary. Even if one should decide to learn Tamil, a period of three years was considered insufficient. This was

clear—and it was decided which of the two should learn Tamil, work in this language, and remain a longer time or permanently in India. This was to be Pluetschau ! He was willing enough. Ziegenbalg at this time was reckoning on only a short period of activity. He busied himself with Portuguese. At the same time, already in September 1706, he spent several hours a day at Tamil ! With this report, he sends all the Tamil letters, which he can write. From 3rd September, 1706, they kept an old Indian in the house to run a school. Along with the pupils the reverend gentlemen also sat on the floor, wrote the strange letters in the sand, and learned to read and write.

However, the previous decision was reversed; Pluetschau learned Portuguese and returned to Germany sooner, while Ziegenbalg became the 'Tamilian' and spent his whole life in Tamil Nad.

In all the letters from Tranquebar, we read of 'Malabarees', 'Malabar books', 'Malabar language', and the Bible is translated into 'Malabaree'. Then we get *Bibliotheca Malabarica* and *A Malabar Dictionary*. Ziegenbalg writes a book about '*Malabar Gods*' and a thick manuscript about '*Malabar Heathenism*'. His book about the 'Needi Vennba' has the sub-title 'Malabar Ethics' and mentions on the title page that the translator has lived 'among the Malabar heathen'. It has been thought that this use of the name was due to a misapprehension. A Germon author misunderstands that Ziegenbalg had been 'in Malabar', that is on the West Coast.

It is even more painful to read, in the church history of P. Thomas, an Indian, that Ziegenbalg was weak in the geography of South India, because he often mixes up Malabar and Tamil Nad. So it seems necessary, to add a word, as the relation between the words Malabar and Tamil. These words have led to a good deal of confusion.

First it should be noted that Ziegenbalg was not the only one who spoke and wrote about Tamil as the 'Malabar language'. Other learned men before and after him did this. Francis Xavier meant Tamil when he wrote home about 'translating the Catechism into Malabar'. In 1672, there appeared in Amsterdam a *True and Complete Description of the famous East-Indian Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel* .... by P. H. Baldaeus, in which there are two pages of 'Malabar writing'—in *Tamil* letters ! The previously quoted English chaplain in Fort St. George, Madras, who heard Ziegenbalg preach, of course without understanding his Tamil, praises his and Gruendler's literary productions 'in the Malabar language'. He wrote thus, because that

was the usual expression. Under a picture of Gruendler, a colleague of Ziegenbalg, is written: 'Ziegenbalg and I, beloved Malabarees, were the first to visit you out of love.'

In June 1777, a missionary wrote that he had begun the study of the Malabar tongue, also mentioning that Fabricius has a Malabar-English Grammar and a Malabar-English Dictionary, ready for the press. Yes, the famous philologist, J. P. Fabricius, in 1799 published the first Tamil-English Dictionary with the title *A Malabar and English Dictionary*. The no less famous Christian Friedrich Schwartz used this questionable word, although he well knew that he was living with Tamilians and that their language was Tamil.

Was perhaps the well known Italian Jesuit, C. J. Beschi, the author of the 'Tembavani', more at home in south Indian geography because the first edition of his *Grammatica Latino-Tamulica* speaks of Tamil Grammar? (It was printed in the Lutheran press in Tranquebar in 1738). Already before this grammar of 1738, Ziegenbalg published a: *Grammatica Tamulica* quaeper varia paradigmata, regulae et nedessarium vocabulorum apparatum, viam breviesiman monstrat, qua Linqua Damulica seu (1) Malabarica, que inter Indos Orientalos in usu est, et hucusque in Europa in-cognita fuit, facile disci possit. Halae Saxonum, Litteris et impensis Orphanostrophei MDCCXVI. So we have a book printed at Halle in 1716 with the letters specially cast there.

From the title of this book it becomes clear that even though Ziegenbalg spoke of the Malabar language like his contemporaries, he knew that 'Tamil' and 'Malabar' were used as synonyms. There is no question of lack of geographical knowledge; he followed the customary usage according to which all the Europeans of that time called the Tamilians Malabarees. He did not know why this had become common usuage, but he adopted this explaining it correctly: 'In their own language, the Malabarees are called Tamilians, and are a great nation, whose language is far spread. How they got the name Malabarees, we have so far not found out. Perhaps the name comes, because the south coast, also known as the Pepper or Malabar Coast is called in their language "Malayalam". Then the Portuguese who called those people Malabarees, included also the people of the East Coast since they spoke a similar language! Thus it happened that afterwards the Europeans continued to call them all Malabarees. This name we have also used because that has become the standard usage in all correspondence about them to Europe.'

What Ziegenbalg conjectured, has turned out to be right. The present Malabar, the Kerala of older days, was once with Tamil Nad a language area known by the Greeks as Tamil Akam. Also in the ancient Tamil literature, West coast Kerala was known as Tamil Nad and in the third Century its inhabitants called themselves Tamilians. The present Malayalam, itself formed of two Tamil words, undoubtedly developed out of Tamil. This language then, the Kodum Tamil, which was spoken also in Malabar, 'the region of mountains', was called from the sixteenth century on by the Europeans 'Malabaree'. This usage continued up to the last century. One cannot reproach Ziegenbalg about this and accuse him of a lack of geographical knowledge. He simply used the common form of speech, just like Beschi and others, although knowing that 'Malabar' was 'Tamil'.*

Of course much was written home about the Tamil language, of which Gruendler expressed, 'It is worthy to be studied in European universities'. Out of a yet unpublished letter, we know that both missionaries 'settled down with all earnestness, with childish composure to the languages'. It was their chief care to learn the language well, though it seemed difficult to them. All the linguistic aids which a young missionary today enjoys, especially a language school, were then not available. 'We did indeed have a Malabar teacher of our own. However we did not know where we should get the vocabulary and an understanding of the construction of this language, since the schoolmaster could show us reading and writing but knew no Portuguese and could not explain anything to us. After this we got acquainted with a Malabaree who .... besides his own language spoke Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, and German well. Him we employed at fixed pay as our translator, and through him daily acquired many Malabar words, up to several thousands, and memorized them well. After that, we busied ourselves to get behind the declensions and conjugations, and began to read books in this language. God let everything progress well. Then the Commandant recommended to us a grammar written in the Portuguese language, written by a missionary of the King of France. We obtained a number of books in the Malabar language, prepared by Catholics, which almost led us into dangerous heresies but not into an understanding of the language or a Christian style of writing. We had no means knowing with what words and expressions we should explain spiritual

* (For details about this and the origin of Malayalam, we refer to Tamil Studies by Srinivasa Aiyangar, Madras 1914).

matters in order not to give them a heathen flavour. The best book, so necessary and so useful was their Gospel-book. This we examined first of all and took all the vocabulary and expressions to make ourselves well acquainted and use them in our daily conversation. After that we worked through other books, so that I, B.Z., in eight months had come so far that with God's grace I was able to read, write, and speak in this very difficult language and even understand the conversation of others.'

They went at this difficult task, as they said, with complete devotion. Ziegenbalg says that in the first three years in India he read hardly any German or Latin books, but spent his whole time from morning until evening reading Malabar books, and also transacted his official business in that language, besides constant conversation with the heathen. 'Therefore I am as conversant in this language as in my own mother tongue and during the two years have written several books in it'. He learned to speak Tamil like a native. He also relates how he used his time to study the language: from 7-8 a.m. he would repeat the vocabularies and phrases which he had previously learnt and written down; from 8-12 he read only Malabar books which he had not previously read. This he did in the presence of an old poet and a writer who immediately wrote down all new words and expressions. The poet had to explain the text and in the case of linguistically complicated poetry put what had been read into colloquial language. At first he had also used the translator Aleppa, whom he later gave up to one of his colleagues. Even while eating he had someone read to him and from 3-5 he read some more Tamil books. In the evening from 7-8 he had someone read to him from Tamil literature in order to save his own eyes. He preferred authors whose style he could imitate in his own speaking and writing. 'Thus it has happened that I sometimes read the same author a hundred times, so that there was no word or expression in him which I did not know or imitate. Such practice in this language has given me a sureness and certainty.' No wonder then that he 'was well equipped in this language'.

Did he overestimate himself? The Italian Jesuit Beschi never heard Ziegenbalg but in his Tamilian polemic *The Lutheran Enthusiasts*, he mocks the Tamil writings of Ziegenbalg: 'Already in reading the first line, the reader's eyes burn, his tongue dries up, and his ears must burst; one looks around and bursts into loud laughter!' We know how diligently Ziegenbalg learned Tamil, that he was soon able to catechize and preach *ex tempore*, how during his preaching he had to deal with interruptions and

questions, yet maintained a high level of language and was well used to discuss freely with his many visitors. How fine it would be if we had records of his Tamil conversations and could decide whether he had mastered the pronunciation, could speak with expression, and was ready with idiomatic diction. However, there are none. But there is no reason to doubt that the first Evangelical missionary had mastered the language to a high degree. This follows also from his literary work, even though one must presuppose the helping hand of a Tamilian. The scope and speed of his Tamil literary production are astonishing. As far as we know, no missionary has ever equalled, let alone surpassed it.

Since there was not yet in Tranquebar a press for Tamil and Portuguese manuscripts, everything had to be copied by hand by writers, for the use of the school and for distribution among the heathen. With Tamil works this meant that they had to be written with a pointed implement on palm leaves. In spite of the poor and often irregular arrival of money from Europe, Ziegenbalg was glad that among the copyists and others in his service, 'not one of them had been overdue a month's salary, since they had no other livelihood than this, and God has always from time to time let the necessary help come through. Some of them receive in addition to their pay their meals in our house. From this it is easy to gather what large expenses this work requires.' Already at the earliest time it was considered a matter of course to supply the young congregation with the books of the Church, the Bible, Hymn Book, and Catechism in the mother tongue, and a beginning was made.

In letters from the year 1708, we read that Ziegenbalg had 'in the name of the Triune God begun the translation of the New Testament and hopes that with God's help, in a year or a year and a half, to complete the translation, and in such a way that neither the literal nor the spiritual sense shall suffer loss'. It did not go quite that fast. This was partly due to the time lost by Ziegenbalg during his imprisonment.

On 17th October, 1708, he began with earnest prayer and finally in 1711 on March 31, finished the whole work; 'which is now everywhere here in India such a treasure as to surpass all other Indian treasures'. Looking back, Ziegenbalg knew that he had taken up a far reaching and difficult work. He was ridiculed. He perisisted with diligence. 'For the translation of the Word of God is the foundation for directing and continuing such work, and so far has been of the utmost use, because it is constantly employed for reading, preaching, and

teaching.' Ziegenbalg saw to it that he had plenty of aids. He mentions The Greek New Testament, as the original language, the Schmidt version, the Ariae Montani Latin version, Luther's German version, the Offenbach German version, the Dutch version, Hedinger's New Testament, the Portuguese version and the Danish version. From Gruendler we know that before the printing of the New Testament was completed on 13th July, 1715, Ziegenbalg was already working on a revision of his translation. Due to a trip to Europe and Gruendler's lack of time, the first edition had not been done properly, but the second edition would remedy this. With the Old Testament, Ziegenbalg began only after completing his work on the New Testament. He translated as far as the Book of Ruth. He made use of the original Hebrew text. With what energy and what resources the missionaries went to work, their letters give us a very deep impression. What the first missionary began, others completed and improved, for Schultze, Walther, and Fabricius, gave the Tamilians the 'Golden Version'.

Where there are Christians, there must be song. It is part of the responsibility of pioneer missionaries to realize this need and satisfy it. Ziegenbalg loved music, and that is a big help for a translator of hymns. Nevertheless, we are astonished that Ziegenbalg immediately saw the need and began on the 26th of March 1707, to translate hymns, so that the children might sing when they came for Catechism instruction. Soon he had a number of hymns, not only in European melodies, but also hymns 'according to the Malabar way of singing and used by the school children'. The first printed hymn book was published on 24th January, 1715, with forty-eight hymns. Some of these we have in an edition printed by Schultze in 1721. Schultze and especially Fabricius continued this very important work.

Already Ziegenbalg and his successors had introduced Psalm singing, which suited the Indians. Ziegenbalg, himself a great lover of singing, also put out a hymn book which had only hymns in Tamilian metre and according to the Tamil scale. The teachers had to practise these hymns with the children every afternoon for an hour.

Only with great respect can one look at the old, large copies of the hymn books, in which the Tamilians were given the German '*Heartmelters*'. In translating these hymns, the classical translator Fabricius showed his mastery even more than in the Bible translation, perhaps because he felt freer in construction and form. His first hymn book printed in 1774, in Madras, contained 336 hymns. The eighth edition of the Fabricius

Hymn Book of 1887, contains 348 hymns of which only one is not his. Even in the Church Book of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church, 264 hymns are by Fabricius. How much those hymns have done for the growth of spiritual life! How far that Tamil Catechist was right who said that the German chorals, the gift from the Mother Church of the Reformation, would be the only ones sung in heaven, we may strongly doubt. However, we may consider this declaration as an expression of the general esteem for this treasury of hymns. They are still sung gladly, along with the Tamil lyrics and are valued as an ecumenical tie which unites the churches.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY RELIGIOUS RESEARCH

We are not writing a new biography of Ziegenbalg and for some biographical details and interpretation we must refer readers to existing works. Yet, it might seem as if by our dwelling extensively on the person and period of Ziegenbalg, we are attempting a new life history of this prototype of the Evangelical Mission. But this is not the plan of the author. Meanwhile, as the example of the *History of the Tranquebar Mission* by Fenger shows, one cannot describe the Tranquebar Mission without entering on details of the beginnings and thus of the laying of the foundations by Ziegenbalg. For at that time, the foundations of the whole work for decades to come, were laid. In theory and in practice one can recognise the features of the whole Tranquebar Mission in the findings of the early years. As will be seen a detailed description of the early years will save explanations later on.

It belongs to the greatness of Ziegenbalg, who entered the work without any practical training in mission work, or any previous knowledge of Hinduism, that with an almost inspired assurance, he led the new mission work on lines, the basic correctness of which has remained undisputed by his co-workers and successors up to this day.

Ziegenbalg forced for himself an entrance to the knowledge of the living religion, customs, and ways of south India, by learning and using the language. In this he aimed high and attained greatness. Because he knew Tamil thoroughly, he could not only read, but could converse with and understand Tamilians of different classes.

His profound knowledge of the religious world, Ziegenbalg offers us in his books : *Geneology of the Malabar Gods*, *Malabar Heathenism* and *Miscellaneous Writings* containing *Needi Venba*, *Kondrei Venden*, and *Ulaga Needi*. Moreover, he gave a mass of Indological facts in his letters, reports, and accounts, now available in *Complete Reports of the Royal Danish Missionaries in India*, and also in *Remarkable News from India*, and *Remarkable Voyage to Proclaim the Gospel* .... 1710. The scientific value of this knowledge and material on religion and mission work, has so far not been sufficiently realized or used. It is indeed desirable that a monograph be written about Ziegenbalg's knowledge, presentation, and theological evaluation of the Hindu religion, and its living forms. Some of this material was early translated into English, and German Indologists have realized its value. It is now high time that Ziegenbalg is finally given the place he has earned himself in the ranks of the outstanding scholars of religions.

Roman Catholic missionaries had already learned Tamil before Ziegenbalg, so also there were other Europeans before him who had studied the religions of the Oriental world. Ziegenbalg was aware of this, as he writes in his letter of the 9th September, 1713, and in his introduction to *Malabar Heathenism*. He was mistaken in the assumption that 'Already many have written extensively about this heathenism'. With profit, he looked for information in *Historical Study of the Ancient and Modern Condition of the Christian Religion in India* by de la Croze, translated from French into English, and wished he had more material of this kind. Two years earlier he had access to Baldaeus and the *Loca* which David Nerreter had compiled from different books. Then he referred to a work which was published in Amsterdam in 1672, in German and Dutch : *True and Complete Description of the Famous East Indian Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, as well as of Ceylon* by Philipp Baldeaus, to which was appended a detailed treatise, *Of the Idolatry of the Indian Heathen, Malabarees, Brahmins, etc.*

In referring to Nerreter, Ziegenbalg means his book, *Outstanding Jewish and Heathen Temples*, which was published in 1701 in Nurenberg. This work is an edition of a religious best seller of the 17th century. He also consulted *The Religions of the Whole World*, or *Description of all Worship of Gods and Idols as well as of Heretical Sects in America, Asia, and Europe, from the Beginning of the World up to Present Days* by the English Presbyterian Alexander Rossaus. He says that Baldaeus 'had lived for sometime in Jafanapatnam in Ceylon among these

heathen and in many parts writes correctly about their religion'. He adopted his form of writing the Tamil words. In spite of this recognition he found, 'that this author often erred in his description of Hinduism and used the wrong names in most cases. Why? 'Because he had not mastered the Malabar language, and therefore in his researches was dependent on ill informed Brahmins, with Portuguese as the medium of conversation, and also because he had to use Portuguese manuscripts from Portuguese priests', which also explains the incorrect spelling of Tamil words. Here and also later it becomes very evident what an advantage it is to the missionary to have a thorough knowledge of the language and it becomes equally clear how valuable is the contribution which Ziegenbalg 'either copied word for word from their own books, and translated into German, or by extensive discussions learnt from these heathen out of their own mouth in their own tongue, and found out from intelligent men'. To him 'the most certain' was what he read in their own books. History has backed up his confident statement that his work was 'no patchwork from other authors'. He produced new and dependable material.

In breaking the ice of religious exploration in south India, he brings a wealth of material to his books, reports, letters, and records of conversation. In the *Complete Description of Malabar Heathendom* he deduces the principles and doctrines, both theological and philosophical from Tamil writings and communicates them for the benefit of his countrymen in Europe. In part one, there are twenty-six chapters on 'what the heathens believe and teach in theological matters', dealing with their books, gods, virtues, vices, temples, festivals, etc. in astonishing completeness. In part two, there are eighteen chapters dealing with chronology, caste, ritual in eating, agriculture, medicine, healing, art, chemistry, alchemy, poetry and poets, music and astrology, ethics and fortune telling, wars, etc.

The *Genealogy of Malabar Gods* which seems to have been written in his spare time between March 27th and May 31st, 1713, contains in 219 pages 'a complete genealogy of the gods, such as was never brought to light before'. In this 'the heathen gods are described according to origin, form, and nature, according to their many names, their families, offices and functions, their glorious appearances, attributes, and dwellings, in which also are described their pagodas and what attendants and holy men are worshipped there, their books which have been written about these gods, their fast and feast days with the sacrifices which are brought to them in the temples and elsewhere.' In

'*Needi Venba*', a translation of Tamil verse is given, which up to that time had never been done.

The same wealth of hitherto unknown material is present in many of the letters and recorded conversations. Step by step he goes through the immense territory of the many sided religious life, describing and also evaluating. Whatever is offered to the observer of the massive idol worship and philosophical thoughts—from demoniac possession to ultimate truth, from polygamy to the idea of the soul, from the power of custom and caste—everything arouses interest and is written down, as fascinating for the reader today as at that time.

How did Ziegenbalg come to such a detailed knowledge of the south Indian world of religion ? The sources give us the answer. The prerequisite for directly obtaining information about the teaching and life of those about him was the knowledge of the language and the ability to have linguistic contact with his surroundings. With this equipment, Ziegenbalg used every opportunity : when visitors came, in conversations at home and outside, through extensive reading, through a large correspondence on his journeys, and through street preaching.

He had many visitors : ' besides this, many Malabarees and Moors come daily whom I never refuse when they want to speak with me, because of which I am known everywhere, so that often Malabar poets come from afar to have discussions with me and make my acquaintance '. In this he was, as Dr. Graul says, ' the patriarch of the Evangelical missionaries to the Tamilians, an example for all future missionaries everywhere : he had time for his visitors '. Ziegenbalg received visits and also made visits. He was not an armchair missionary, but an energetic traveller. Out among the people he could see and hear and he could proclaim his message.

This was his aim, and everything else, the knowledge of their religion and their language was only a means to this end. From St Thomas' Mount he wrote on 8th December, 1711, that he had spent practically two whole months in conference with Hindus. Some pundits from Europe had written to him ' about methods of converting the heathen. . . .but it is easy enough for them to write. They are only debating with themselves' without a real opponent. Otherwise, Ziegenbalg adds, they would soon have found out that the mentally active and eloquent Tamilians would set up ten arguments to their one ! From such living intercourse, he learnt much. Again and again, the discussions led him to ' deep thought about this and that matter, so that here among the heathen he discovered much both in theology

and philosophy', which was new to him and which he would never have reached through his own thinking or through learned writings

Another mine of information for Ziegenbalg was the reading of many Tamil books of religion and philosophy. The extent of this reading is shown in his *Bibliotheca Malabarica*.

Very rewarding was his wide correspondence. The Halle Reports bring a large number of these letters to the press. Then we must mention his travels and street preaching. At festivals and whenever he travelled through villages, he preached. 'We travelled through many large towns and often lodged in the houses of Brahmins day and night, who showed us much love'. Street preaching often had discussions and offered excellent opportunity to learn about the religion of his hearers. 'Hardly an hour passes, that I do not have opportunity to speak with the heathen on the way'.

Ziegenbalg also thought about his 'beloved Europe' in pursuing his Indological studies. Although his research was for the Gospel work, he also had in mind the world of learning, to whose representatives he sent his findings and urged them to take note of this wealth of knowledge so as to use the material with its challenging questions for a scientific knowledge of religion, and especially for theology, then advancing on the way to introvertism. In an unprinted letter of the 5th December, 1711 he writes, that he hopes this will further the mission work and also be pleasant for many in Europe to get to know the instructive statements of Indians in theology and philosophy out of their own writings. He hoped to make those in Europe revise some of their ideas. Already in 1710, in his unprinted *Remarkable Voyage*....we read 'I do not reject everything they teach, rather rejoice that for the heathen long ago a small light of the Gospel began to shine. He is not concerned with the production of learned books. He is always a theologian and a missionary, and wants to help the European reader to an understanding of 'how far the light of nature has reached these heathen, so that at least a medium of instruction is there for a higher and divine light'. In Europe, as he puts it, they had such 'strange ideas about the Malabarees'. They considered them to be not 'reasonable, sensible, and clever people, but wild, untamed and coarse folks, whom one could never bring under a human order, let alone to Christianity'. In spite of the 'darkness of Satan' which he saw and all the 'horrible errors, the beloved reader in Europe could readily see' how far they had come by the light of their reason in the knowledge of God and of the natural order,

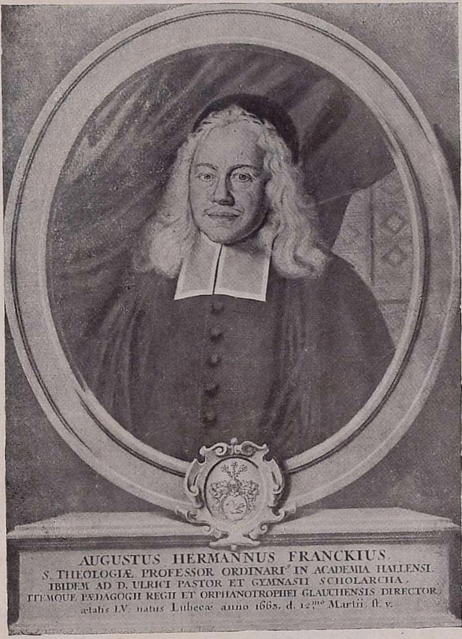
and how by their natural powers, they often put to shame many Christians by their upright life, also showing a much greater striving for the future life'. Of course, one will find many 'unreasonable stories' but one 'will find here and there such teachings and passages in their writings which are not only according to human reason but also according to God's Word'.

He wants to fight the opinion 'that the Malabarees were a barbarian people, without culture or morals'. As he immersed himself in Tamil literature, he himself was able 'to think much better of them'. When he saw 'that examples and rules of life therein were not amiss....' he started to translate. 'Of course not as if the Word of God were not sufficient for us Christians, and we should have to learn the same from the heathen, but only in order to see how far a heathen, even without the Holy Scriptures, would be able to come to the knowledge of the moral law by his natural intelligence. And how these Malabar heathen had attained as high a level as the ancient Greeks and Romans; yes, had completely surpassed them'. Thus, he raised the question of original revelation and the natural knowledge of God!

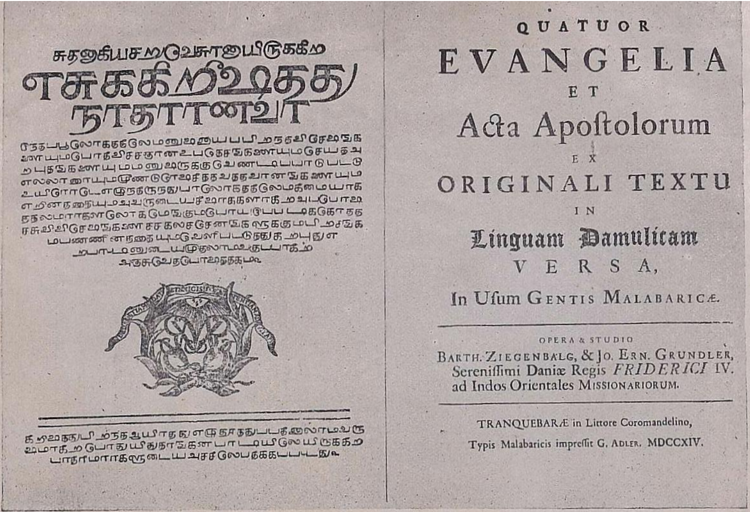
Ziegenbalg's intentions went further. Already he was thinking about his successors, for whom he was preparing a way and clearing obstacles. For he wanted his successors 'in everything to work ahead', even if this work was sometimes 'more a punishment and annoyance than a hobby'.

It surprises one to see how these manuscripts were received in Europe, that is, in Halle. Ziegenbalg had requested that his works be printed, and had expected to see them published. In 1711 he entrusted the manuscripts of *Malabar Heathendom* to Pluetschau and in a letter of the 5th December, 1711, to the Court Chaplain, A. W. Boehme in England, he had expressed the hope that it be printed either in England, or still better at Halle in Germany. However, this was not done, nor were the manuscripts *Needi Venba*, or the *Genalogie* ever printed. They were put into safe keeping in the archives. Only once were they disturbed, in a cloud of dust, when at the beginning of the 18th century, the previously mentioned de la Croze, author of the first German mission history, used the manuscripts of *Malabar Heathendom* and of the *Geneology* as sources for his widely read *History of Christianity in the Indies*, published 1724.

The Danish king wanted the books printed, but they were not printed. As A. H. Francke says: 'The missionaries were sent out to exterminate heathenism in India, not to spread heathen nonsense all over Europe'. And from Professor Michaelis, the



A. H. FRANCKE 1663-1727



QUATUOR

EVANGELIA

ET

Acta Apostolorum

EX

ORIGINALI TEXTU

IN

Linguam Damulicam

VERSA,

In Usum Gentis Malabaricæ.

OPERA & STUDIO

Barth. Ziegenbalg, & Jo. Ern. Grundler,
Serenissimi Daniæ Regis *FRIDERICI* IV.
ad Indos Orientales Missionariorum.

TRANQUEBARÆ in Littore Coromandelino,

Typis Malabaricis impressit G. Adler. MDCCXIV.

THE TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION IN TAMIL OF THE FOUR GOSPELS AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES TRANSLATED AND PUBLISHED BY ZIEGENBALG AND GRUENDLER AT TRANQUEBAR IN 1714

missionaries heard that, 'we hesitated to publish the Malabar ethics and morality, because in them the best part is missing—namely, the knowledge of man's deep depravity and of Jesus Christ who rescues us'.

No, these were not textbooks of Christian doctrine. Nor is it necessary to scold these men who were chained by the prejudices of their time. That the study of comparative religion results in adding to our joy in the possession of our own faith, as Max Mueller puts it, they did not know or understand at that time. However, the wheel of fate turned. In 1791 appeared an edition of the *Genealogy* in Berlin under the title of *Description of the Religion and Sacred Customs of the Malabar Hindus*, unfortunately somewhat incomplete. The complete manuscript appeared only in 1867 in the edition carefully prepared by W. Germann, as *Genealogy of the Malabar Gods*. This was 154 years after it had been written.

The introduction to *Needi Venba* or *Malabar Ethics*, was published in '*First Continuation of the Reports*....' in 1710, but only up to pages twenty-five and twenty-six. The translation of the Indian text, however, is missing. The 'Christian and well disposed reader' is informed in the introduction: 'It is not our purpose to edit this treatise'. And then follows the reason why the introduction of Ziegenbalg's was not printed in full. Of course not! They stopped exactly at the sentence which give 'Ziegenbalg's thoughts about the moral teachings therein, how highly he considers them, and also wishes that they might be recognized by other Christians'. His opinion about these 'very fine books on ethics' we have mentioned previously. It took 222 years until the complete introduction appeared in the translation by W. Caland of Amsterdam, 1930. Even then Ziegenbalg's work was still considered worthwhile printing. It is today considered as a mine of Dravidian information and an ornament in any Indological library.

Then how about the greatest work of Ziegenbalg, *Malabar Heathendom*? In his *Genealogy* he had referred to this manuscript. However, when Germann looked for this in Halle, in spite of extensive search, he could not find this manuscript. The treasure was hidden in the dust! But it came to light. The credit goes to R. F. Markel, who found and recognized the long missed manuscript of 322 closely written pages. Thanks also to him, it was finally printed. On his request and insistence, the Indologist W. Caland agreed to edit the work. So, 215 years after its completion by Ziegenbalg, the *Malabar Heathendom* appeared 1926, in Amsterdam as a book of 291 pages.

The example of the first missionary and explorer of religions was followed by innumerable, Evangelical missionaries. We would like to say that mission authorities always sent out young missionaries well equipped in knowledge of comparative religion or at any rate equipped with the chief books and especially the translations from Tamil. Perhaps they thought that every missionary should have enough sense to realize this need himself and take the time to become acquainted with the many sided world about him. Some of them did, but went at it the hard way, without using the tools which Ziegenbalg had prepared by many years of hard work.

Nor did the missionaries write down all the results of their hard work. We know of several whose knowledge would have been valuable for their colleagues, but a regrettable modesty restrained them from publishing their discoveries. Thus the glorious beginning which Ziegenbalg made in the Tranquebar Mission, was not continued in subsequent times, nor was there a continuation of important Indological publications, as we have a right to expect.

We are glad to state, however, that already in 1711, Ziegenbalg's fellow worker, Gruendler, began to read the medical literature of the Tamilians, and translate the most important into German: '*The Malabar Medicus*, a short account of the medical principles of these heathen, and also of the treatment and drugs with which they cure diseases. Compiled for the medical men of Europe, for their use and information from the medical literature of the Malabarees, and translated by I.E.G. with an introduction in which a Sciagraphia Medica of a Brahmin shows the order in which they treat the study of medicine in their schools'.

Further researches and translations of Tamil works can be placed only in the later period when the Leipzig Mission stepped into the heritage of Tranquebar. Extensive, significant, and important contributions by Carl Graul, Hilko Wiardo Schomerus, and the author, continue the line of Indological studies begun by Ziegenbalg.

CHAPTER V

FOUNDING THE CHURCH

Pioneer missionaries are like house builders, who must first dig down and excavate the earth, to lay the foundations on which the whole building will be raised.

One can well say that the first missionaries of the Tranquebar

Mission laid for the Evangelical Church of India foundations which have stood the test of time. This is the more remarkable and worthy of recognition, because to them even the words 'mission methods', 'mission strategy', let alone their meaning, were unknown. They could not fall back on the experiences of others, nor get advice from books or colleagues, or turn for guidance to the authorities at home.

They consulted together and went about their work joyfully, quite confident in the guidance of God. For this they prayed earnestly. Every evening from five to six they were together in prayer. They admitted that prayer was their most effective means to enable them to begin their work with joy and blessing, and also to undertake hard work.

What if in some details they followed too closely the patterns of Halle and showed themselves as pietists? What if, for example, they made the school children pray every evening in the garden 'alone and from the heart', and when there was time, let them 'write down every day a Bible passage or meditation'? We should not judge them harshly. No more than missionaries of other times and denominations could these first missionaries lay aside the spiritual heritage and the forms and way of life acquired by them in their home Church. Thus in the early period in Tranquebar, we find private confession, just as it was in Halle and in Denmark at that time. Also they followed the Danish liturgy, because in Copenhagen, they had promised to follow the Danish Church order of worship.

It would be foolish when judging the structure of a building to spend a lot of time looking over the ornaments and stucco, with all the details of the architecture of that era, if we have before us a solid and still usable building, which we can move into and use, without much repair or alteration. In fact, while some details show a narrow point of view, the Tranquebar missionaries laid the foundations remarkably well. The foundations and walls were sound! One might ask whether, in spite of better training and the benefit of previous experience, the later generations continued to build with the same technical skill and devotion.

How was the congregation and its life established? First of all it must be said that the pioneer missionaries brought to the heathen the whole Gospel and the Bible as the actual Word of God, without subtraction or addition. There is no doubt the missionaries had what one would call today a 'narrow theological outlook', even a 'hell-fire theology'. Dr. John G. Patton states that he could never have gone to the New Hebrides among savages and cannibals without this ancient Gospel. Our pioneer

missionaries confessed that they did not go among the people with a 'lukewarm Gospel'. Their theology was solid, nor has it yet been proved that in either of these they substantially deviated from Holy Scripture.

'Neither the Hindu gods nor Mohammed....could be a Saviour or Redeemer.' The Halle reports show plainly how in their talks with non-Christians and in their sermons they pointed to their miserable condition and to Christ as their only Saviour. To their Indian audience, they painted a picture of the Saviour of the Cross. The task of the missionaries was saving souls. 'The ultimate object of the whole work....is this,' they said, 'that a living knowledge of Jesus Christ be set forth in dark places, that the hearts of the heathen who may hear the Word of God be led to a true exercise of Christianity, redeemed and saved'.

To bring salvation the messengers preached the Word in season and out of season. With all devotion to the cause, motivated by the certainty of possessing the truth, they did not act out of blind zeal or in a fit of pietistic proselytising, although conversion was often mentioned. So much is clear from the sources. Thus we read in a 'top-secret' letter of Prof. Francke, 15th August, 1718, to Mission Secretary Wendt in Copenhagen that while the chief business in the world is the saving of one's soul and leading other souls to God, one should not overlook 'that the service of souls does not do away with the need of serving the neighbour's body....If I fail to serve my neighbour's body, which is urged in the entire Scriptures and made a part of serving God, then my Christianity is not of the right type....' Whether our faith and our love are genuine, can be recognized not only by serving the soul, 'but also by serving the body of our neighbour'. Even more important is this: conversion is written in capital letters, and its need is emphasized. They believed that it is only God who saves and converts. It was known that God is the Lord, who must give the increase. The missionaries undertake the sowing of the precious seed with zeal and care. In the Latin letter of 20th June, 1712, to English and Dutch preachers in Madras, Bengal, Bombay, Nagapatnam, and also in Ceylon and the cape of Good Hope, and to good friends including some Roman missionaries, our Tranquebar missionaries reported on their pioneer work. In this they explain their thorough spiritual instruction in their schools, about the method and the ways of sowing the seed of the Word among the people and showing the fall of the human race, the revelation of God's will, and the way in which a man is renewed in Christ, the Mediator of eternal

life. 'Then also we take our children out in the streets, into the villages and resthouses, which are put there for the benefit of travellers. In these places, while the heathen come and stand round, we teach the children the Word of God in the form of questions and answers, at the same time making application for the people standing around. Also we distribute tracts and books on these occasions, translated into the Tamil language, about the Christian doctrine'.

'Their other methods' they do not tell us about, but we already know them. Their trips around the country, their conversations and correspondence. Untiringly they preached, and made contacts in Madras and Nagapatnam with the English and the Dutch. A trip they had planned for January, 1711, around the whole island of Ceylon, unfortunately did not materialize. Besides preaching, Ziegenbalg had hopes of having a look at the mission work of the Dutch 'in order to be able to confer with them if they should have something to contribute'. Further, he wanted to find out 'what Malabar books they might have', what were the chances for future activity and 'whether there might be among the natives suitable types who could be trained for the Lord's work'. Beyond this he had far reaching plans. He wanted to start a drive for cooperation. His words sound very modern: 'how by uniting the universities in Denmark, Germany, England, and Holland, the conversion of the heathen here in India might be carried on with power'. The aim of this first ecumenical strategist was quite clear: he was out for intensive proclamation, backed by the Christian centres of learning!

The pioneers were not concerned with rapid growth or statistics. Before baptizing, they gave a thorough course of instruction. About the instruction of catechumens, the records show that the basic instruction was summarized and approved by the theological faculty of Halle.

The first five catechumens were Portuguese-speaking Hindus. Their instruction began on 6th November, 1706. It was conducted in the house of the missionaries every day and lasted two hours. On May 5th the following year, they were examined in the Danish Zion Church 'in all the Articles of the Faith, in the Portuguese language and baptized in the same Church on May 12th, on which occasion a sermon about baptism and true repentance was preached with special reference to the candidates for baptism, who again had to answer certain questions and then through Holy Baptism were accepted into the fellowship of the Christian Church as the first-fruits'.

Was this the usual duration of the instruction of catechumens? No. 'Some continued six months, some a year, some two or more years as catechumens, before they were baptized.' Unless it was necessary, baptism was not postponed, least of all for the sick and dying. There were sound reasons for this. The missionaries wanted to avoid the influence of friends and relations, who, 'usually cut off all help and opportunity' of a livelihood for the catechumens, so that often enough the missionaries had to help. The reproach that they thereby bought the people and thus made them 'rice Christians' the missionaries emphatically refuted.

The missionaries often tried to shorten the pressure of persecution by an early baptism. The trials of the catechumens are described in four pages of harrowing experiences in the chapter 'Of the Catechumens'. An early baptism was found especially advisable so that the candidates might not be led into backsliding. 'For Satan cannot bear it that a soul should be snatched from him'. In considering these reasons the Most Reverend Fathers of the theological faculty at Halle gave an approving answer to the questions sent to them, which took almost two years until they reached the hands of the professors! 'Do not yield ground to Satan by delaying baptism'.

On the other hand, they did not want to hurry the baptism of sincere candidates. For some of them the instruction seemed too long and they came and asked for the grace of baptism. Sometimes even Europeans would intercede for such earnest petitioners. 'To this we would reply: We want to increase the Church of God with genuine plants of righteousness, not with weeds, of which the Church has no shortage, here or anywhere in the world. Therefore it is better that we wait for the real fruits, meet for repentance.' Also, one must be convinced 'that true godliness has taken hold in their hearts'. The theological faculty gives its opinion that one should first examine the motive behind the request for baptism: 'If there is found in them a simple desire to possess Christ through this means of Grace, one may yield to their faith!'

For baptism, a true understanding of Christian teaching, and a mastery of the doctrinal material was also required. It was the rule that the catechumens should have learnt Luther's Catechism and 'The Plan of Salvation' from a Catechist or in the school. Besides this, 'they were catechised by the missionaries two hours daily for a certain period.' They also took part in the daily catechisations of the small school children, who had already been baptized. In addition, they attended the 'public

preaching and instruction, so that we gave them ample instruction and do not leave it to them. Such then as demand baptism and are considered fit, we inform specially, a month or two ahead of time.'

Nor was the instruction ended at the time of baptism. Ziegenbalg desired that the employers of these young Christians should give them time after baptism for attendance at divine worship and one hour daily for private instruction, and faithfully help to lead them into a knowledge of Jesus Christ. A pious wish !

In fact about these European Christians in Tranquebar, we meet with many complaints right from the beginning. J. H. Ursinus (d. 1667), was not right, when he protested against efforts for mission work, on the ground that all over the world, amidst Turks and heathen, there were already Christians, so that all had ample opportunity to learn about Christ from the Christians. But what sort of a Christianity could they learn from these people ! There were very few Europeans who worked in non-Christian surroundings as true Christians.

Most of the Europeans in Tranquebar did not live in this way. On the contrary, Ziegenbalg often calls them ' the chief obstacle to the conversion of the heathen '. Through their offensive life, more was pulled down than the missionaries could build up. Page after page is filled with the complaints of the missionaries. While some of the complaints are due to pietistic exaggeration, there were enough grounds for real objections. Sometimes also real cause for joy is reported. Thus we read in the 36th letter of ' Malabar Correspondence ' an expression by an Indian ' after the Europeans came into this country, some of them exhibited among the Malabarees good instruction, good life, and good works.' In the 34th letter the same person states which sins of the Europeans specially offend the Indians : ' They do not deal according to the Ten Commandments ; they drink heavily, so as to lose their reason, and lie and speak like foolish people ; they hate, fight, even kill each other ; they swear much by the name of God and their soul, they whore and gamble, they kill cows and eat their flesh. The white men are very bad ; show no kindness to travellers, in spite of their wealth, spend nothing for charity or good works, and never worry about their poor fellowmen.' In view of this, there was a plan to put all the complaints down in a book of eighteen chapters, so that those in Europe, especially the business people might know the facts. It seems this plan was never carried out.

Well, we do not need a book. Let one quotation be

sufficient. Ziegenbalg wrote that the heathen 'would rather be with their ancestors and their people in hell, as to be without their ancestors and people in heaven'. 'Their minds are aroused by the European Christians into such bitterness and resentment, because they often treat the heathen most unmercifully, and treat them as just black dogs; on top of that they offend them by their behaviour. Wherefore, as I was once speaking with several heathen and addressed them sharply to penetrate their conscience, they replied thus: As certainly and surely as you Christians with your drinking and gluttony, with your adultery, with your dancing and gambling, with your swearing and cursing, and with your evil and sinful life, hope to be saved, so certainly and surely we consider that we shall be saved by our quiet and retired life, even if our religion should be false and all lies. Here I was shocked and asked them what in their hearts they thought about us Christians? They did not want to answer, but I promised them, they should not suffer anything bad on account of it. On this assurance, they said that they had thought the Christians were rather stupid and without learning, because they gave no thought to God or to the future life. I asked how they could think that, when they saw that we had a church in which three times a week we sang and preached, all the Europeans attending the divine services. Yes, they saw and heard this, but they had thought that the preachers in the church taught how one could anyway indulge in drinking, gluttony, gambling, adultery, and do all sorts of evil things to the black people. . . . Because when they saw our actions, they found that the Christians did such things right after Church . . . .' Many were confirmed in their unbelief. Even baptized Tamilians experienced little love, because the proud Europeans could not find it in their hearts to look on the coloured people as brothers and sisters, and were ashamed to be sponsors for them. Even if this happened, a friendly countenance was missing, let alone any assistance. No wonder that the heathens were of the opinion that the missionaries might convert such Christians and lead them away from their evil ways, before converting them.' It would have been better if the people had never seen any Europeans! The work would have proceeded much better in a place where 'bad Christians' had never come.

But they were there. So what the missionaries could do for their spiritual care and improvement, they did. Ziegenbalg has written in detail of how the missionaries came to serve spirittually the many German soldiers in Tranquebar, and how much they did for them, even to setting up a savings bank.

Right after their arrival the Germans, for more than half of the garrison was German, requested German services. This was agreed to but purposely delayed for four months and the requests became more insistent, because the Germans could not understand Danish. So the missionaries invited them to come on Sunday afternoons to the devotions in the mission home. The house was full of people for the first service on 12th December, 1706. At the request of the Commandant, and with the consent of the Danish chaplains, the services were transferred to the Zion Church and from December 29th German services were held every Wednesday, in which there was an explanation of the New Testament. By August 1708, they had come as far as the Acts of the Apostles. That was a legitimate and fruitful work for the Germans as well as for the non-Christians, on whom the work among the Europeans had a beneficial effect in that the lives of the latter became less offensive. This was a help, since the non-Christians 'paid more attention to the behaviour of the Christians than to the Christian doctrine'.

William Carey said that his only talent was persistence. Whether Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau claimed this attribute, we do not know, but they had it. First of all, when they got into conflict with the authorities Ziegenbalg furnished a new chapter in the problem of Church and State in that he had to spend four months from 19th November, 1708 to 26th March, 1709 in a stifling prison in the Dansborg, a Government building still standing today.

The first missionaries were neither angels nor saints. They had hours in which they despaired and grew weary. But they held on and never retreated. God never failed to bless their patient work of sowing.

There came into being a congregation out of the non-Christians, to which was given a gift of three books in their mother tongue. Today these are still the most widely translated and distributed books in the world: The Bible, the Small Catechism, and the Hymn Book.

The development and growth of that congregation was a miracle. What obstacles and difficulties the first missionaries underwent in getting started! It is out of the question to mention them all. Most of the obstacles arose out of the differences in caste. Whoever decided to be baptized, had to reckon on the enmity of his whole caste and become a pariah. To him fire or water from the common well was denied. No one would give his daughter in marriage to a Christian. Converted brides or women would be rejected. Christians would be driven out

of their parents' homes and considered as dead. Nevertheless, a congregation was established.

Could it be true, as was written in Denmark in 1715, in '*Christian Friend of Truth*': The first congregation consisted of slaves and former Catholics, of poor people, and even children bought with much money? The missionaries had through their oily smooth words extracted from sympathetic people a nice piece of money to take to India, and thus made many Fanom-Christians (money-Christians), whose Christianity would last only as long as the missionaries had money.

The truth is that the catechumens had to work, and employment was sometimes provided for poor Christians, even if it was knitting socks. Help was given where needed. This was a Christian obligation. Some came from the country for instruction, while others lost their jobs because of persecution. Love and pity stepped in to help, and during the period of instruction in Tranquebar, 'showed Christian hospitality, because some of the people would otherwise go hungry on the days they came for learning the Catechism and receiving instruction'. How could one expect them to have any savings, where 'little more is left to them than what they earn for the barest daily necessities!' Everyone who has been in India understands.

Also in India the Church records are illuminating sources. The first Church record of the Jerusalem congregation is a treasure. In the beginning is a prayer: 'Oh, Thou high and majestic Saviour, Jesus Christ! Thou Saviour of all mankind! Who hast gathered through Thy apostles a holy congregation out of all nations in the world to be Thine own and hast protected the same against all the power of hell and hast also assured Thy servants, that Thou wilt preserve them to the end of the world and in these latter days hast called many more heathen to it, Thy name be ever magnified and praised for such goodness, also because Thou hast permitted Thy unworthy servants to bring Thy word to the heathen with Thy blessing, to save some souls from the damnation of blindness and to graft them into the fellowship of Thy holy Church. Behold this is Thy Word. Do Thou support it with divine power, that through Thy saving Word many thousands of souls may be born again, to enter from this earthly Jerusalem into Thy holy Jerusalem with eternal joy and exaltation. O, Jesu, do this according to Thy gracious promise and for the sake of Thy holy merit. Amen'. The first non-Portuguese Malabaree to be baptized was Ziegenbalg's faithful servant, Seperumal, with the Christian name, Andreas, at the age of 30 on 5th September, 1707. He was a sudra.

The annual growth of the congregation was as follows: 1708: 57 people, 1709: 17, 1710: 53, 1711: 19, 1713: 44, 1714: 41, 1715: 24, 1717: 36, 1719: 42, 1720: 44.

The figures could have been larger, if the missionaries had been less particular and if they had wanted merely numbers. At the close of 1707, the congregation numbered 35 souls. In 1708, the number of the congregation is given as more than 100 persons. In 1709, 152 congregation members and 32 Catechumens are listed. By 1712, there were 202: 117 Malabarees and 85 Portuguese. According to Germann, in 1720, the number of congregation members had gone up to 250, some of whom were former Catholics. When one compares this figure with the statistics of previous years, it is clear that many members either died or fell away. In fact, in 1720, the number of deaths is given as 20, although we do not know the number of deaths for other years. Missionary Dal wrote that by 1712, already 90 members had been lost through death.

Unfortunately the number of those who fell away was not small. On one occasion we hear of 45 lapsing, of whom 25 were previously Catholics. From among the number of faithful, we later on have Pastor Diogo.

In a printed report from Tranquebar dated 1725, the number of congregation members is given as 279. Of these 147 belonged to the Tamil Congregation, and 132 to the Portuguese Congregation. The total of adults was 155.

We are also informed as to the vocation of these people: Of the 87 Malabarees five were in the service of the Danish company, six were soldiers or sailors, others served the mission as cathechists, clerks, or teachers. The rest tried to get their food where and how they could; many wishing that they could enter the service of the European authority. Some earned a little by knitting stockings, an occupation which was also taught to the school children. They also wanted to introduce spinning and weaving, to provide a livelihood for the youth. Of the Portuguese 13 were soldiers and sailors, and the rest were in the service of the company, also earning something extra by knitting stockings and weaving reeds.

What was the situation in regard to caste? It is good that the church register gives us information: In 1720, of 250 Christians, 147 were sudras. Before God all men are equal, and for the missionaries also, a purely pariah congregation would have been cause for praise and thanks. The large number of sudras in the first Christian congregation is a striking historical fact, and this resulted in special problems for the missionaries.

One can understand that this congregation of Indians wanted to have their own church. In the Danish Zion Church, the preaching was in Danish, and for the simple people too aristocratic. They could hardly feel at home there. Moreover, the service for them had to be in Tamil. Racial prejudices as one finds them today in South Africa, played no part on either side here, because both churches were open to everybody. However, on account of the different languages they had to gather the Indian congregations separately. Moreover, non-Christians who were eager to hear, hesitated to sit down with the Europeans in the same church building 'on account of which we tried very hard, so that they might have their own church built for them'.

Planning to build the first small church had its difficulties. Soon a site was found, and on the 14th June, 1707, the foundation for the New Jerusalem Church, was laid in the name of the Triune God. The church was later washed away by floods. Today the site cannot be fixed with certainty but can only approximately be determined on a waste spot close to the sea shore. According to old plans it is unlikely that the house which in local tradition is regarded as the first Jerusalem Church has anything to do with it. Money for building a church was not forthcoming. The missionaries turned to their own purse, which had many other demands to meet. Many mocked and would not believe that they could carry out their scheme. Some say that Dutch money come from Nagapatnam but the missionaries themselves did not know how they would be able to finish the building properly with their small resources. They trusted God, and were confident that He would not let them come to shame. Later on a number of local people also contributed.

The brickwork proceeded very rapidly. Every day some thirty people came to work and on the eighth Sunday after Trinity, 1707, the dedication was held in both languages, in the presence of a large crowd of Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindus and the church was named the New Jerusalem church.

The Wednesday services for the Germans continued in the Zion Church. In the new church early every Sunday morning, there was a Portuguese and a Tamil service followed by catechism instruction. Every Friday there was a sermon and instruction for the catechumens alternately in both languages. All this for a congregation of only thirty-six souls, to whom on September 13th, thirty-seven more were added by baptism. Continued growth was always kept in mind. 'Our joy in this newly planted congregation, we cannot express with words. We love to do

this work, so that we intend to carry on, although our instructions would permit us to return to Denmark after three years. Therefore we intend, if it be God's will, to live and die here. We cannot think of returning now, regardless of our work and the enmity and persecution from all sides '.

The new chapel was not just for the Christians. The growth of the congregation was constantly kept in mind, as we see from the fact that there were always Hindus at the services. The children were sent to church half an hour before the service. One of the boys would read from the Gospels until the missionary arrived. For this reading a number of non-christians would gather, and then stay and hear the rest. Soon the church became too small and had to be enlarged and because conducting the services in the great heat made those who preached perspire, a small sacristry was added.

The pleasure that the people at that time took in writing letters, gives us information about the seating arrangements in that early church: ' People in European clothing, men and women, sit on chairs and benches. Those with Indian clothing, men and women, on mats on the floor. The four windows and doors are blocked with Hindus and Moors, who do not belong to the congregation '.

Often it got very crowded, especially as the employees of the mission did not dare to miss any of the occasions. The Hindus took offence that in the services the difference of caste was ignored and pariahs and sudras were allowed to mingle. Men and women could come together and see each other, which was a shame and disgrace to the Hindus. Thus the church construction and the seating arrangement brought up the caste question and this problem was to continue.

Now let us look into the hearts of the shepherds. In September, 1712, the missionaries were taking care of 202 members. These were, just like us, both sinful and righteous, and Christian witnesses. Ziegenbalg, Gruendler, and Jordan, on 10th September, 1712, wrote to A. H. Francke, their dear father in Christ Jesus: ' The longer we work with these souls the more the corruption of the human heart becomes evident to us, for their conversion and renewal, all human powers and efforts are in vain, unless God Himself with His all-powerful hand turns man around and works mightily in His servants through the means of grace. Oh, it takes much to win a soul !....It makes us patient in our work, so that we do not soon reject anybody, though we see much in them that grieves us, but continue earnestly with instruction and encouragement, mindful that God

must have patience also with us in many matters.' The young missionary Jordan writes, that it was a much greater wonder when one was converted in India than when twelve were converted in Germany. The struggle for holiness was one of ups and downs. But where is not this the case ? Professor Francke too knew the difficulty of the work. One of the Tamil converts, Timotheus, went to Europe with Pluetschau, and impressed all by his fine Christian example. 'Even if none of the others came up to this Timotheus, all our efforts would have been well worthwhile.'

On top of all the work and the many hardships of the climate and the people, came money troubles, chronic shortages, yes, even debts. While poverty did not kill the missionaries' joy, the constant lack of means for a bare existence, for the expansion of the work, and for the necessary travel through the country, was a hindrance. Already on the 5th September, 1707, they reported to Germany, that they lacked the means required to begin properly and continue. And this early cry was to be made again and again. This false start already showed itself in the choice of the vocabulary in their requests for support. They begged for 'a kind gift', 'alms', and 'just a trifle'—and for these tiny gifts, promised the donors rich recompense on the day of our Lord's coming !

Again and again they wrote home that for two years they had been 'in great need, had received neither a letter nor their salaries', and had to go into debt. On top of this poverty, it even happened that money was lost or was once 'stolen in Brazil', and that the ships arrived very irregularly, although they watched the English and Dutch ships in other ports also. Since they had waited for four years in patience and hope for help, they agreed to continue to exercise patience, and in spite of heavy debts they did not let any grey hairs grow, or doubt the gracious providence of God. The shortages and need must work for their good. Truly, here was the patience and faith of the saints.

Their own pay they put into the work. By October 1711, that already amounted to more than Rs. 600. In 1712, every day sixty-four people ate at their house: four Europeans, eight employees, and fifty-two children. Nobody had been given their pay. The following are listed :

(1) A Danish teacher for the Danish School.
(2) A Portuguese teacher for the Portuguese School.
(3) A Malabar teacher for the First Boys' School.
(4) A Malabar teacher for the Second Boys' School.
(5) A Matron for the Girls' School, who also visits among the women.

(6) A Malabar Catechist.
(7) A Portuguese Catechist.
(8) A cook for the Malabar school children.
(9) A cook for the Portuguese school children.
(10) A matron and sewing mistress for the Portuguese girls.
(11) (illegible)
(12) A houseboy, who also serves as sexton.
(13-14) Two women to carry water.
(15-17) Two gardeners and a labourer.
(18-19) Two Malabar writers.
(20) A clerk.
(21) A doctor who also instructs the boys for one hour every day in medicine.
(22) A washerman, who sees that everybody gets fresh clothes weekly.

Sometimes unexpected donations came. Once a Dane in Madras, when he died, left everything to the Jerusalem church in his will. But even this cash to the amount of 100 Pagodas, or Rs 600, did not clear the debts accumulated by 1712. In general, they complained that well-to-do Europeans would just as soon see the work go under, as themselves come and help.

But it is also gratefully acknowledged, that in extreme need there were always people ready to advance money. This was immediately used up for daily expenses, so that it was impossible to think of paying the debt of Rs. 800. In 1711, there arose a helper, Mr. J. A. Heiss of Halle, who realizing the extreme need, voluntarily offered Rs. 2,400 '. For this, it is reported, he had to suffer very much.

The missionaries wrote home that ' as we have begun in faith, so in faith we will confidently work on '.

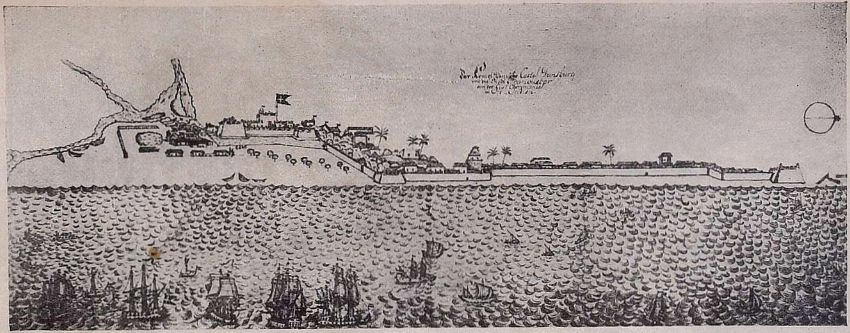
They saw, as they wrote, the great harvest before them, and yet were hindered in gathering the fruit of their work, so that they could only pick up an ear of corn here and there.

Unfortunately, the missionaries got the impression that in Tranquebar and at home ' many only looked to the outward appearance ', that is, the statistics of the baptized and the congregation members. For such observers, the progress was not rapid enough. To them were written the words: ' Oh, how we wish with intense longing that after so much long waiting, the helping hand in need may be finally stretched out in earnest from Europe. Then, of course, we would find better returns in the Lord's harvest among the people, and in our yearly reports to Europe we could share our joy in a substantial growth of

congregations, schools, and catechumens, and of the whole work'. Thus they wrote home, so that the relationship between scanty sowing and scanty harvests might be understood and more thought be given to the condition of the missionaries, and the demands of the work.

Did the missionaries never grow weak? In an unpublished letter of 10th September, 1712 to Prof. Francke, the missionaries, Ziegenbalg, Gruendler, and Jordan wrote that if in the constant difficulties including the financial ones, no substantial help was given, they would have to 'regret the precious time which, at this place and under these circumstances, we could not spend as profitably as we could wish, when we see with our own eyes how in other places in India, we could work more usefully. We are also requested by others here and there to work among the Tamil people, who consider it very precious that we have learned the language of these people and are moved by God to care so earnestly for their conversion'. They remained and endured! And they wrote and wrote to Europe, to Denmark, to Germany, and to England, that people there might show their willingness to save souls more realistically and besides making demands on the missionaries, finally also send the necessary means. How much energy and time went into putting up with these shortages and in writing! The home authorities had become accustomed to these appeals from the field and the authorities thought it advisable not to publish the first begging letter of 12th September, 1707. Joachim Lange took as many lines to explain why not, as it would have taken to print his harmless letter. He preferred to keep back these six pages filled with interesting news. Finally, the authorities let letter No. 8 be printed and also translated into English. The lines which aroused so much excitement read: 'Indeed, it all depends on the ground of God. But should quite a lot of external means be sent to us, we would have opportunity for many good institutions and for much blessing. By the previous ship, we wrote to our most worthy friends, that they might send us a collection, and we hope that we will most certainly receive the same on the next ship. Later on, the pious Christians at home had to accustom themselves to even more urgent requests!

The Tranquebar Mission was very much criticized in Europe. According to an English criticism, the work was misdirected. It was true, of course, that what was being done and accomplished was certainly not perfect. The direction of the congregation was, for example, altogether in the hands of the missionaries. There is no mention of elders or a board with Indian members. Also



AN OLD IMPRESSION OF THE DANSBORG AT TRANQUEBAR

KING'S STREET, TRANQUEBAR

the pioneer missionaries would have liked to have seen more results, but thought that the bad example of the Europeans, the shortage of money, and also open violence and secret intrigues hindered them. They were hindered, they said, by those in authority who were called Christians. In spite of that they were convinced that they had by God's grace brought the whole work into a good pattern.

CHAPTER VI

THE LARGE CHURCH

We do not mean here the growing Church as a spiritual force. To call it at any time large would show a lack of knowledge, in fact, presumption. Rather, we mean the New Jerusalem brick church on King Street at Tranquebar, which Ziegenbalg built, and which is still used today. This house of God was large in size and construction, also large in significance.

The imposing and massively planned church building is the successor of the original small chapel, mentioned in the previous chapter. So the present building cannot claim to be the first Lutheran Church in India. The Danish Zion Church was also much older, but the New Jerusalem church has the permanent honour of being the largest and oldest Lutheran church in India, which is still standing, which was built for Indians, and was from the beginning the church of the Tamil congregation. It would be worthwhile if sometime the story of this house of God were written. It would be an important chapter in modern church history.

Besides the regular, numerous and splendid services, much has happened in this church. Ordinations and Synods, the consecration of the Bishops of Tranquebar, and the commissioning of the first Lutheran deaconesses in Tamil Nad. This building has a high symbolic value for all Evangelical Christians of India, and especially for the members of the Lutheran churches. Since the two leaders, Ziegenbalg and Gruendler, are buried here, it is impressed on the minds of the visitors that 'it began at Tranquebar'!

In recent times this church has also become important for non-Lutherans of South India, and famous throughout the world, because on the 1st of May, 1919, the renowned 'Tranquebar Conference' took place there, which was 'the Genesis of the Church of South India'. Through this, the old Lutheran Church

has become part of the history of this large and far reaching union-church, and has become much better known throughout the world than it ever was before.

The construction of a new larger church was planned by the missionaries before Ziegenbalg's trip to Europe in 1714, because the previously erected small building was too small for the growing congregation. Besides, they would like to use it as a separate place for the instruction of the Catechists and similar purposes. They looked out for a suitable building site, debating whether to build in the town. A high tide had washed away most of the town walls and also forty Malabar houses in November 1715. But as the sea takes away land, it brings it back again. The beach soon became once more fairly wide and so, in childlike faith in the Almighty God, they boldly commenced to build in His name.

It was so near the beach that one could hear the sea even in the church. During Ziegenbalg's absence, Gruendler managed to acquire a very suitable site, a very spacious and convenient place, opposite the mission settlement, for about Rs. 2,500. Of course, there was no cash on hand, so Gruendler had to 'buy without money'. He gave in exchange a house worth Rs. 1,500, hoping to buy it back as soon as money came from Europe. To this transaction was added Rs. 75 in extra fees. The balance of Rs 1,000, was advanced by Commandant Hassius.

On his return from Europe on 2nd September, 1716, Ziegenbalg brought 6,134 dollars (Rs. 19,000) in silver and gold. That same month they tried to get timber from Nagapatnam. The Dutch Governor there, since it was for a church, gave the buyer 78 teak beams, as well as other timber and boards, for only Rs. 1,500. And also, 1400 glass panes, 200 lbs. of lead, and other materials for the windows. The building site was obtained for Rs. 300, and preparations began. Who should supervise the construction? The missionaries did not want to be drawn away from their work, and so requested the services of Lt. Class Kroeckel, who was a soldier and not an architect, but who had given good proof in well executed buildings. He became building-inspector on a monthly remuneration of Rs. 30. They all worked together to draw up the plan. They agreed that 'for such a site, a church in the form of a cross would be more suitable', and the building inspector then drew up a plan. Eight people daily brought sea shells from which lime was prepared on the spot. Thus they got good lime in ample quantities, incidentally saving fifty per cent of their costs.

A contract was given for making the bricks. An old house

which stood on the site, was pulled down within one month and the good stones were saved for the foundation walls. The workers were paid daily and well supervised. A book-keeper had to give an account to the missionaries every week. The one foot square stone slabs for the floor of the church were taken from a quarry at Sadras, the Dutch Governor there having been very helpful.

On 9th February, 1717, in the name of the most praised God, the foundation for the new church building was laid, to which also gentlemen from the administration, the Militia, and the two Danish preachers, were invited. Ziegenbalg gave an address on I Corinthians 3:11, 'Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ'. This address has been preserved and printed. The Commandant, Christian Brun, laid the cornerstone, and a copper plate with a Danish inscription was placed over the main entrance. This was renewed for the Jubilee of 1856. Then they built solidly. The foundation walls were built more than four feet thick. From ground level up to the windows, the walls were almost three and a half feet thick and from there on up to the roof, three feet. For the construction, there were from ten to sixteen masons, six or eight carpenters, six blacksmiths, about twenty coolies, besides forty or fifty boys. A glazier was brought from Nagapatnam. For the windows there were wooden shutters. But when these were closed against the wind, rain and sand, light was still needed in the church. Therefore, the upper half of the windows was glazed.

On 9th September, 1717, the walls were finished up to the roof, but timbers for the roof were still wanted. To get them, a ship had to sail to Jaffna, in Ceylon, on the 26th January, 1718. 'To build the Jerusalem Temple, a ship was sent to Ophir', a well wisher is supposed to have said. Since felling the timber took almost four months, the ship returned only on the 19th May, 1718. It brought dark and very strong timber, very servicable for a solid roof. This trip for the timber cost more than Rs. 900. The time until its arrival was used to build a wall along the street 'with some ornaments' and with pillars which are a striking feature to this day. So on 16th May, 1718, the construction of the imposing roof, which shows no signs of an amateur architect, was begun. It made a fine canopy for the inside of the church. So that the roof would not need constant repairs but stand solid against the heavy winds, the tiles were covered with a heavy layer of lime as was customary on the roofs of English buildings along the coast. On top of the church they put a

copper flag and painted it red. Then the floors were laid, altar and font erected, doors and windows fixed, and everything white-washed.

On the wall behind the altar, which stands separate, the following verse is written:

Our God this New Jerusalem builded,
In grace, that we to Him draw near,
That all might here together be,
God's holy, saving Word to hear,
In prayer and watching constantly.
God has this New Jerusalem builded.
11 October, 1718.

How long this verse remained visible, we do not know. Later it was whitewashed over and only discovered again, when the author undertook the work of renovating this house of God on the occasion of the consecration of Bishop Sandegran in 1934. The text was with difficulty restored.

October 11th was to be the dedication day for the church. It was also the birthday of King Frederick IV, whose initials are still to be seen on the front of the church. In fact, even today, prayers are offered every Sunday at the divine service, for the Danish Royal House.

At the Tamil, Portuguese, German, and Danish services, all were invited 'to attend the hearing of God's Word, with prayer and singing of spiritual hymns'.

The 11th October was a Tuesday. By order of the commandant all three bells of the Zion Church were rung three times. Four clergymen officiated. Three of them knelt at the altar, when the Danish preacher read the introit. Then the large congregation sang 'Lord, God, we praise Thee'. Again three clergymen knelt at the altar, while one of the missionaries sang the Collect. There was a Scripture reading, Haggai 2: 7-10. Then they sang from the Halle hymn book: 'Sing to the Lord near and far....'. For the Gospel lesson, Matthew 28: 18-20 was read. Then followed the hymn by the congregation 'Praise and honour to the highest God', and the reading of the 96th Psalm by a Danish preacher. The congregation confessed their faith in the hymn: 'We all believe in One True God', and Ziegenbalg preached the dedication sermon on Jeremiah 16: 19-21, in German. The service in the Malabar and Portuguese languages was quietly repeated on the following Wednesday, in which of course the sermon on the Haggai text was partly altered to apply to the newly gathered congregation.

In the Portuguese service, the sermon was on Matt. 28 : 18-20, the contents of which are known through a German summary.

The following Friday, the 14th October 1718, the first baptism in the new Church, was held. Six adults and one child were added to the congregation.

One may ask, where the missionaries got the money for the building since, like A. H. Francke, they began without any means. They built solidly, and spared no necessary expense. Besides the financial resources mentioned, the builders fell back on contributions.

One well-wisher sent Rs. 150. Also 'a judge of the local court remembered our building and condemned one person to pay Rs. 150 to the Mission church'! In the nick of time, money came from Madras, Denmark, Germany, and London. There were donations from one of the Danish preachers, from an artillery man, from a Dane, and many others. 'This flow of love was a good supply and also an encouragement to continue the church building'. The wood from Ceylon and other necessities from different places were permitted to enter duty free. The Commandant also contributed Rs. 30 himself, and cancelled Rs. 70, which the missionaries owed him on another account. He donated a piece of red flowered damask for the altar, and a good friend had a white cloth made to lay over it. Also the Captain of the Militia, donated timber. Nevertheless, in June 1718, money again failed, but an advance from the Commandant and a loan from the church authorities in Madras helped out. Nor may we overlook, that the missionaries themselves dug deep into their pockets : 'We gathered together from our own possessions, as much as we could'.

They had hoped to carry out the construction of the church with Rs. 12,000—of which they had not a single rupee when they began. The expenses then ran up to Rs, 18,000, with extras here and there. They thought that in Germany, such a building would have cost four times that much. 'Buildings can be constructed so much more cheaply here, because the necessary craftsmen, labourers, stone and mortar cost so much less. And also we did not need too much timber for this building, which usually is very costly'.

The Lord God blessed the heroic faith of the missionaries with success. However, they still needed 'bells, organ, altar-piece, canopy over the pulpit and a chandelier to put the lights on. They hoped to acquire all these things through future donations. And indeed, everything was finally supplied. Nor was the finest adornment of a church missing—a believing, worshiping

congregation. Gruendler reports with thanksgiving that in the five months after Ziegenbalg's death, which occured soon after the dedication, a hundred non-Christians had asked for instruction for baptism.

CHAPTER VII

THE LUTHERAN MOULD

It was a Lutheran Church which Lutheran Christians wanted to build in Tranquebar. Such was the object of the leaders in Halle, as well as of the workers on the field. They were not compelled by any charter to take this direction, as we find in many of the mission societies today, in which special regulations determine the confessional methods and procedure.

When a board to assist the spread of the Gospel was formed in Copenhagen on 10th December, 1714, in the thirty-two paragraphs of the Constitution, the word 'Lutheran' or 'Lutheran Church' was not to be found! They mentioned the 'blessing of Luther's Reformation' and 'our sainted Father Luther'. They spoke of the conversion of those who lived in darkness as the inescapable work of the 'Evangelical Church'. Also, in the instructions for missionaries Schultze, Dal, and Kistenmacher, setting out in 1719, we do not find the above words. The word Evangelical, was at that time the distinctive name of the Lutherans, and used by them to designate satisfactorily their church. Thus Ziegenbalg writes on 22nd August, 1708 about 'our pure Evangelical church'. A. H. Francke and others wrote similarly. All took it for granted that they were Lutheran, and were sent by the Lutheran church, without using the word 'Lutheran', as is done nowadays. They knew the meaning of this word; and the great Gustav Warneck later on called Francke and his contemporaries the 'German Lutheran Christendom'.

Indeed, it is a fact that pietism took over the theology of orthodoxy and that the so called pietist mission can be designated as Lutheran. Undoubtedly, it also considered itself Lutheran.

Of Ziegenbalg this is true to the fullest extent. As a student, he had preached using only the Bible, and Luther. And while according to the usage of the time he spoke of his 'Evangelical Churches', and as far as we know, never said 'Lutheran Church', he and Pluetschau called themselves 'Lutherans', and even 'Lutheran priests'. Ziegenbalg knew where he stood. With Pluetschau he would probably protest in surprise, if today we

consider them anything else than orthodox Lutherans. In their ordination in Copenhagen, both were obligated to the Lutheran confessions, indeed to the whole Book of Concord, whereas ordinarily in Denmark, only the unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism were demanded. Absolutely nothing, justifies us today in assuming that the missionaries did not take their oath of ordination seriously, or in any way had any doubts about its permanent obligation, or weakened its interpretation. To them their oath was binding.

In addition, paragraph four of the instruction given them on 17th November, 1705, makes it very clear that they should 'preach or teach nothing in India, other than the holy doctrine, as it is written in the Word of God and in the symbolical books of our countries, repeated in the Augsburg Confession'. And if Valentin Ernst Loescher at first had his doubts about orthodoxy, he later on altered his stand. Like the pioneers, their successors in the work were also bound to the Lutheran confessions, and affirmed them also in their lives. Later on, when the differences from the English mission became apparent, Fabricius opposed compromise and union, calling to remembrance that 'the first founders of the mission at Madras, which was set up from Tranquebar as an Evangelical Lutheran mission, were taken into the service of the Society in the capacity of Lutheran missionaries, and that the institution was looked upon as an Evangelical Lutheran mission'. And Fabricius protested emphatically that the matter should 'rest upon a different foundation'.

Similar statements were heard when controversy arose and the facts had to be made clear to prevent changes being introduced. We do not criticize a man of character, because he stands by his word and the oath he has taken. On the contrary, we must expect that from him. Otherwise the missionaries did not talk much about their confessional views and obligations. In reading the records, one gets the impression that people were not very much inclined at that time to constantly make confessional declarations, but took their position for granted, and acted accordingly. At the time of ordination, they said what they meant, and meant what they said. In the pioneer stage, they had not yet become aware of the denominational problems.

Some have scorned the Lutheran missionaries as having gone out to preach to the heathen with the Book of Concord under their arm. It was not so in the beginning, nor later on. Whoever reads the Halle reports and studies the many detailed quotations and descriptions of their preaching, their conversations, and their correspondence about their hopes, will find no basis for the

idea that the Tranquebar missionaries ever lost sight of the starting point of the whole mission to proclaim the message of the crucified Christ who had risen again.

In the Tranquebar mission, they preached the Bible, without any addition, as simply as one could possibly wish. The experienced Missionary Matthes of the Leipzig Mission, in his treatise of 1912, *Individuality of Indian Missions*, surely expressed the opinion of most, if not of all missionaries: 'It would be difficult to determine a confessional difference in their message to the non-Christian between the Lutheran and the Reformed missionaries. Both have it in mind to proclaim the Word of God, that is the Gospel of Jesus especially, while denominational differences are so far in the background, that often Lutheran and Reformed missionaries with their assistants go together to preach. Both sides have kept their denominational distinctions, but before the non-Christians these are kept out of sight; here both of us proclaimed the message of Salvation without any distinction.' Of course, with the instruction of the catechumens it was not so—any more than among the other denominations. No one can blame the old missionaries for naturally using Luther's Catechism as the basis of their instruction. They had begun translating this into Tamil in January, 1707, completing it by June. The title of this edition was, 'Book of Spiritual Instruction, teaching which chief parts of Scripture a Christian must know for his salvation, and how he should put them into practice. Printed at Tranquebar, in the Year of Christ, 1715'. A second edition was soon required. A third edition for children who could understand both Tamil and Portuguese, or were studying both, was printed so that they could read and learn the Tamil on one page and the Portuguese on the other. Luther's name appeared only in the Portuguese edition. Even mentioning his name was an offence to some of the English. The English Archbishop found an even worse cause of offence, and referred to the spread of sectarian Lutheranism. The archepiscopal anger was inflamed over the omission of the prohibition of images in the second Commandment, which was discovered by scrutinizing the Portuguese text. Ziegenbalg purposely followed Luther's text, even though Gruendler warned him that the Reformed members would take offence. When he was in Europe, Gruendler managed to get the prohibition of images added, in view of the rampant idolatry in India. In Halle they were satisfied with this arrangement, because they were afraid that if the missionaries followed the Reformed numbering of the commandments, they could expect protests from 'several

Evangelical (i.e. Lutheran) theologians '. In England this was regarded as Romanising and a mutilation of the Decalogue. Halle wanted to spare the feelings of the English nation, who shared in the work financially and ' deal with the English as modestly and wisely so as to give no cause for them to go back on their affection or goodwill. On the other hand, let the missionaries look out that out of goodwill they do not do anything which would cause bad reports in Denmark or in the Evangelical Church '. The German Court Chaplain in England Boehme, wrote even more sharply, that rather he would ' let everything drop and sink, than consent to such a dangerous mix-up ', meaning the erasing of denominational boundaries by yielding in the matter of the numbering of the Ten Commandments.

The old missionaries were strong in catechising. One can feel in their reports how they enjoyed catechising the heathen and the Christians at home and in church. Thus they firmly grounded the children and others in the knowledge of the Bible stories and sound doctrine. In school and in the congregation they used with great benefit the previously mentioned *Short Outline of Christian Doctrine*, by Freylingshausen, which was translated by 1st July, 1707. In this the whole Christian doctrine was comprehended in brief in thirty-two chapters. But they were not satisfied with just learning this book or the catechism by heart; everything was extensively explained, daily, in their house, in school and in services on Fridays and Sundays. The missionary stood at the altar, and made everyone old and young, recite the lessons, and answer questions. On Wednesday the Sunday sermon would be reviewed catechetically. After this intensive instruction of school-children and congregation members, we can understand better what Ziegenbalg wrote on 22nd August, 1708: 'This simple way of preaching and catechising has been very beneficial for the congregation....many of the Christians, who had just come from heathenism, put to shame many European Christians '. This method also helped to reach many Hindus and Muslims who used to attend the sermons and catechisations in large numbers.

But doctrine was not the only matter, important as this was and always will be. Fortunately, there were valuable instructions from the authorities in Europe to guide the missionaries and make them willing to see to the meaning of what they had learned in their life and to urge a Christian way of life. According to their own testimony, the missionaries themselves were of one mind in this, that they made two things quite clear,

'that it is not enough to know this and that about the Christian doctrine, but also to put it into practice'. That means then, that the missionaries were ready to be practical and show their hearers how they could prove their faith in their daily life. What they learnt in the catechism they should practise: 'believe and lead a godly life'.

Perhaps in no other denomination have so much time and effort been expended to instruct and establish the Christians in the Scriptures and the Catechism. It is certainly not a fault if the Lutheran Christians are occasionally known as the Catechism Christians. They had to be, because the members of the Jerusalem congregation had to assert themselves and give account of their faith to the older, Roman congregation at Tranquebar. In spite of the excellent instruction, the young Christians managed to extract quite a few sighs from their spiritual leaders. For in this young Lutheran congregation also, there were good and bad, or rather strong and weak Christians.

As is well known, Luther thought that one must learn the Catechism by heart. The missionaries insisted on this. At baptism the candidates must 'before the witnesses and all present recite the five chief parts of the Catechism clearly'. Then they were questioned about these and had to 'answer in their own words'.

Some will be surprised, and many perhaps find fault that Luther's Small Catechism is the only Lutheran confessional document which the early missionaries translated. In the edition of the Catechism the translation of the Creed is of course included. This should be mentioned because this *Symbolum Apostolicum* was printed in Halle in 1712, and thus is the first which was printed in Tamil by the Tranquebar Mission. It was sent to the missionaries on 12th December, 1712.

One naturally expects that in the Lutheran Mission, in which the missionaries had gone to the heathen with the Book of Concord under their arm, they would first of all translate the Augsburg Confession, and as soon as possible, also the Large Catechism. Alas no! In fact, it took 148 years before the Augustana was translated into Tamil. One can regret this for good reasons. What was the situation in the first mission field with regard to denominationalism? The translator of the Augustana and also of the Nicene and the Athanasian creeds was Heinrich Cordes. He translated this Lutheran Confession into Tamil in 1854, to present it to the Church for its 150th Jubilee. This Confession was then spread among the more mature congregations and brought home to them in the

Wednesday services. Another seventy-seven years passed before another Lutheran confessional book was translated into Tamil. Missionary Ellwein translated the Large Catechism into Tamil while he was in Germany. The other Lutheran confessional writings, i.e. the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and the Formula of Concord were then also translated and a complete book of of Concord brought out by E. F. Hobusch, volume 1 in 1872 and volume 2 in 1880, at Tranquebar.

Very few of Luther's writings have so far been translated into Tamil. We must thank Missionary Fehlberg for translating Luther's *The Liberty of a Christian Man*, which appeared in Nos. 1-36 of the Tamil weekly, *Sunday Friend* of 1911. Similarly we regret the lack in book form of W. Kanschatz' translation, *How should one pray? A Simple Instruction for Master Peter, the Barber* published in the magazine *Arunodayam* of 1930. Luther's *Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans* was assigned to Missionary Mylius for translation in the previous century. Nothing seems to have come out of this. Ellwein eventually brought it out with his *Large Catechism*. And Luther's sermons? Only seven are available in Tamil, in *Ihlefeld's* '*Postilla*' of 1884. Such a review is not satisfactory, and raises questions for the missionary band of these 250 years, as well as for the authorities, both on the field and at home, among whose activities one might like to notice some suggestions for and furtherance of definite literary work.

This scantiness about the outward set-up of Lutheranism must not deceive us as to the inwardly conscious character of the Mission. In the period of the Tranquebar Mission and later, none cared to stress denominationalism as long as there seemed to be no occasion for it. Everyone strove, though perhaps unconsciously, to carry on the work in the spirit of the Lutheran Church. In this the first missionaries had the full consent of Prof. Francke. He encouraged the lonely missionaries on the Coromandal Coast to be sure to keep in view the maintenance of fellowship with the whole Lutheran Church. With these words he strengthens Ziegenbalg: 'For the rest, you will keep in mind that though in India among the heathen you are on a different field of battle than we are in Europe, yet you have all sorts of opportunities to keep in touch with Christians there, to teach and admonish them, since you are connected with the Evangelical Church as a member, which membership you must always preserve, wisely and carefully. Even without my reminding, you will continue to keep in mind and constantly use the symbolical books for the evangelical Church, especially

the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Large and the Small Catechisms, and the Formula of Concord, even though you already know them so well, so that you may always be ready to give an account of the public Confession of the Evangelical Church, of which you are a member'. Similar admonition he wrote in his *Random Thoughts* about the Tranquebar Mission on 20th December, 1715 under point 11 that his brethren 'might, in connection with the study of the Scriptures, strengthen themselves in dogmatic theology, having realised the value of their studies in orthodox theology already while at the University. The knowledge they had gained they should cultivate also in India'.

In this spirit the early apostles laid their foundations without many grand statements, but fully aware and unyielding, without fear of men, they gave the work a distinct inner mould. This is evident from the way in which they worked. We do not need to describe this completely, but only give a few typical examples.

It is not out of place to mention first of all, with some emphasis, that the Tranquebar Mission was non-political, i.e. that the motivation and objectives were spiritual and completely free from non-spiritual additions. One neither can nor dare impute to the Mission or the missionaries any political, mercantile, or imperialistic motives, whatever other sins they might have committed. They wanted simply to carry the gospel into the heathen world and save souls. Whatever faults and omissions occurred—the intention was concentrated on this one point and their motives were pure.

The sober missionaries did not depend on impressing those at home with large numbers and reports of results. Of course, they naturally wanted to achieve something and see results. It was for this they had come. But they knew that it was not their doing, but were quite dependent for this on God. No one should be compelled by force and in no case should impure means or attractions be used to help the work. One can certainly gain the impression that Ziegenbalg, in the face of starving people, often had a too open hand. But could one blame him seriously for this, that he wanted to make 'Rice-Christians'?

No one who knows the mission history of ancient and modern times among the different nations, will find it surprising or unexpected that the motives for joining, even in the early years of the Tranquebar Mission, were varied and also mixed. The really spiritual motives stand in close organic relation to the spiritual understanding gained in instruction and study of the Scripture. This very development of biblical knowledge was carried on extensively and thoroughly and with awareness of the objectives.

The Lutheran tendency must show itself especially in the spiritual life of serving God, the basis of which was the translation of the Word of God into the mother tongue. As a matter of course, Tamil singing was encouraged, and besides the unavoidable European hymns and melodies, there were quite early spiritual hymns according to the Malabar way of singing and in Malabar metre, of which there were already forty-eight in 1714. The prayers, as well as the Collects, were chanted at the altar. Stone altars, candles etc. had also been introduced into the Tamil congregation and Church.

Today one would consider it good that the chanting of Psalms as in the ancient church was introduced. Many of our congregations at home would be glad if they could sing all the Introits, the Magnificat, all the different responses with the ease and assurance which surprises the casual visitor at a Tamil Lutheran service today. This has happened because the first missionaries considered this proper and congenial to the Tamil ethos. They themselves also took pleasure in this and were not only following the instructions of the Danish ritual which had been introduced by Bugenhagen. In their vow of ordination, they had bound themselves to observe the ceremonies in use in the Church.

But there was one exception to the Danish order, which they made consciously. They did not use the chasuble on which a crucifix was usually embroidered. They did this so that the heathen, who in all such pictures and figures would readily see idolatry, might have no cause for such thoughts. All the other rites they introduced as a help and guidance to deepening the spiritual life. Ziegenbalg even continued the practice of private confession, definitely laid down in the Lutheran Confessions.

The Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper was continued without dispute, and the formula of distribution clearly spoke of the true body and true blood, so the order of Communion service was held without question according to the Lutheran Liturgy. Nor did they omit the sign of the cross at the consecration or at baptism, or for the benediction. Whoever wanted to partake of Holy Communion, had to announce eight days previously, and, 'during this period daily come for an hour of instruction and admonition'. In 1729, we hear that those who went to the Lord's table for the first time, had to undergo a period of preparation of three weeks.

Unfortunately we must regret to announce that the Halle reports are not so complete that we can paint a picture with complete details. Is this the fault of the missionaries? Or of the authorities in Halle? The latter had a large pair of editorial

scissors to cut out everything from the reports which seemed strange to the readers, or might diminish the flow of gifts for Missions. Prof. Francke said very plainly: 'Unpleasant things I leave out of all diaries on publication'. He wanted to prevent harming the work, also thinking it would be impossible for the public to understand from a distance the problems of the Mission. He also mentioned specifically that 'this or that fountain of benevolence might be choked'.

We do not find any helpful statement by Ziegenbalg, Pluetschau, or Gruendler, about the order of distributing the Sacrament and about the question whether one or two cups were used in Tranquebar at that time.

These questions have to be looked at in the context of the caste problem. Also in the Leipzig Mission of the 19th Century caste 'is a source of division and misfortune', to quote India's Vice-President and leading philosopher Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. How tough is its life, is shown especially today. In spite of the clear provisions in the Constitution of the Indian Union about removing caste with its roots, and in spite of all the efforts to bring the former untouchables into leading positions in the State and society, it still cannot be said that caste is 'rapidly dying out'.

If we become fully aware of the staying power and vitality of caste, as well as its role and influence in the history and life of former times, we will begin to understand that the decisions about the religious and social system of caste and the problem of determining the theology and church practice in regard to it, necessarily called forth strife and contest! Rather we are surprised that the tensions within the Leipzig Mission and between it and its Protestant critics were not fiercer and more dramatic. All strove to do away with every caste tendency, both in the divine services and in the life of the congregation. But in regard to the choice of means and ways, opinions differed greatly.

Among the Lutherans, opposed to the force and the method of the Test Act, the Watchword was 'first the inner man, then the outer'. They had decided to overcome caste within, by means of preaching and the individual care of souls, by their own example, and if needs be, through church discipline. In dealing with individuals, they explain at length in 1732: 'If there is anyone who calls himself a Christian, but still will not have fellowship with the other congregation members, or join in the services and in the Sacraments, or leads a life which is offensive and against the teaching of Christ, then such a one is first of all admonished several times, both by the missionaries,

and by the catechists. We also take along with us some of the congregation members, in order that they be witnesses, and may also add a word of admonition. If this does not work, we will take the opportunity in sermons to specially testify against this and to inform the congregation that their condition is not approved, and show what has already been done for their improvement. But if they remain as they are, it is eventually certified publicly before the congregation that because of their offensive life, they can no longer be considered Christians. Therefore the other congregation members should keep apart from them in so far as to let them know that their behaviour is an abomination, if perhaps in this way they become ashamed and aroused to improvement. Also, as long as they remain in this state, they will not be permitted to attend Holy Communion, or be witnesses for baptisms.'

As newcomers, the first missionaries found it especially difficult to come to a decision about the nature of caste and what should be their position in the Church with regard to it. They had neither experience, nor books on the subject before them, and it was hard to find advice. Quite correctly, they decided in Halle that they were too far removed from the state of affairs to give directions.

They took a position midway between that of the Roman Catholics, and the practice of the Reformed, who came later. Thus their position and that of the 19th century is in agreement. One might perhaps find a difference in that the Lutheran missionaries of the 18th century, in spite of individual differences in preserving the same spirit, showed themselves even milder and dealt more considerately and carefully. 'In the spirit of evangelical consideration, one tries to compare the Indian caste differences to the class differences in Europe; one fights the evil spirit of caste, but distinguishes in the caste system, the religious and the civil, the heathen and the national.' There is no need to prove today that they had taken the correct position and that others were wrong.

The Hindus again and again took offence that women, even pariah women, were allowed to come into the church and sit with the others, and that the same thing was permitted in the school with the children. The missionaries found it very difficult even 'with our grown-up Christians up to this time to get this deeply rooted difference of the races completely out of their heads'. This indicates the power and influence of the existing caste order. In this spirit, the Hindus have from time immemorial and also in the early days of the Tranquebar Mission

ridiculed those who professed themselves to be Christians, persecuted them, reviled them as pariahs, and treated them as such. And from that time, Hindus complained 'that the Christians do not observe this difference among the races (caste), but turn them all into one'. The missionaries had to remind the Christians, 'how in Christ all together are one.'

How difficult the struggle was, is indicated in this description of not less than thirty-two obstacles to the work caused by caste.

The first missionaries were to that extent so united that in the 18th century a 'caste problem' did not exist. They were just concerned with what Mahatma Gandhiji called a 'change of heart'. How rapidly such a change of heart is achieved, examples from modern history show in large numbers. One can understand therefore that the missionaries, who in a totally new situation as pioneers had to come to a decision, could not immediately strive for and attain everything. Since the mere coming together of so many castes, men and women, in one house of worship caused offence and surprise, the missionaries avoided indiscriminately seating the Christians together. Actually, the pariahs were seated separately in the church. The arrangement of the New Jerusalem Church in the form of a cross, gave a possibility, which was not only welcome, but desired, for dividing up the seating space. We know that quite definitely, because on the occasion of Ziegenbalg's funeral, this arrangement was not kept, but everyone sat down where he could find a place. A splendid example of what the Church was able to achieve already in 1719, something that in Hindu circles had not been considered a possibility.

The missionaries would have liked to have had it thus always. But they were 'compelled to assign a special place in the church for the pariahs'. Missionary Schultze, with the strength of youth and the experience of a beginner 'with much trouble did away with this separation in the church.' The young missionaries who came later agreed with him. But the missionaries Walther, Pressier, Dal, and Bosse, wrote in their report of 1727 thus: 'After several long consultations, we decided that order could well exist side by side with Christian humility and unity, and permitted that pariahs and sudras sit in the church separated by one yard. But in the distribution of the Sacrament, no difference was made'.

But there was no difference at the altar! According to Germann, there was no caste distinction 'also (not) in coming to Holy Communion', and he assures his readers, 'a second cup

was not used'. But there is no place in the report in which we read such words. Nevertheless, Germann may be quite right, since also Fabricius considers it a slander that the missionaries were supposed to have used two chalices in the distribution of Holy Communion, because of caste scruples.

Nevertheless, two cups were used in Tranquebar from 1777. Missionary Pohle came to Tranquebar in the summer of that year, and wrote to Halle on 19th September that the old missionaries by which he meant Kohlhoff and Zeglin, were 'in many things too timid and undecided, when they should come to a decision.' Against these the younger missionaries could not carry out anything. Thus it had happened that, in Tranquebar 'there were two cups for Holy Communion'. The conjecture of Pohle that this had happened for the sake of caste, Germann opposes for two reasons. First, the older missionaries had done away with the second cup at the beginning of 1778, without having aroused any conflict by this act. Moreover, there is no need to look for any concession to the caste spirit in this act. As two full cups are placed on the altar and consecrated in Germany, so it had been done there. Out of this had developed a claim on the part of the sudras for 'their' cup. Since we cannot produce any new authorities, we will have to let it go at this. We can also content ourselves with this because the disappearance of the second cup must have stirred up unrest in the congregation, which would then have had to show in the reports, if a caste privilege of the sudras had been touched. At any rate, in 1778, the second cup was done away with in Tranquebar for good, and in no other congregation were two cups ever used! In Tiruchirapalli, Pohle asserts in the year 1778, that 'sudras and pariahs drink out of one cup at Holy Communion. As far as I know, there has never been any quarrel about this'. In the same year, Schwartz confirms that 'even for the distribution of Holy Communion, often one or another of the low caste (pariah) came first, without attracting any attention'. Usually the sudras came first, which Schwartz had conceded for the sake of peace. But Pohle did not consent to this; 'I have not conceded this difference or procedure to them and took them severely to task.... so they dare not do that anymore with me. At the time of this quarrel, I showed them up by my own example. I gave myself Communion and drank out of the same cup after all the sudras and pariahs had drunk. They really opened their eyes then and were ashamed'.

From Fabricius we know that 'at no time in the Madras mission was it customary to have two different cups for the

sudras and pariahs at the administration of Holy Communion, but for both races (castes) only one cup was used'. And one cup remained, as we have already seen at the time of Kremmer. As Schwartz writes in 1778, there were in Tranquebar and Tanjore 'almost an equal number of both races'.

Therefore, nobody can say that there was a lack of serious effort in the Mission to get rid of the caste spirit. This was overcome *within*, no matter how often it rose up again. There is no question that the missionaries and in the very first place Ziegenbalg and his Lutheran colleagues had a large share in breaking down caste and overcoming the caste spirit. They made progress at a time when this courageous stand had not yet found any approval among the Hindus, but stirred up bitter ill-will. It can confidently be said that the caste differences were first attacked in the Church. As an example of this, the first Hindu baptized in Bombay went to attend Communion, and the consecrated elements were offered to him, he suddenly got up, and with the words 'I do not want to break my caste yet!' fled out of the chapel. The altar of God excludes caste!

CHAPTER VIII

UNEXPECTED DIFFERENCES

One ill serves the missionaries of any period, when one idolizes them and puts them on a pedestal as saints. Missionaries also go about their work as sinning men, and like all of us, they must follow Luther's advice, to daily drown and die in baptism with all their sin and evil lust and live by daily forgiveness. To them also apply the words of the Catechism: '....For we daily sin much and indeed have deserved nothing but punishment'.

Certainly, it would have been nicer and more profitable for the cause, if there had not been so many differences and controversies. But in reviewing what happened, we need not make the missionaries seem worse than they were, as, for example, a few weeks after the arrival at a mission station of a second woman worker, an Indian pastor in the neighbourhood found it necessary to pray publicly that these two sisters in Christ might learn to live together in peace. To all mission history applies what Dr. Norman Goodall writes about the London Missionary Society:

'Out of the old reports, one could easily dig up enough material and fill many pages if one wanted to discredit the missionaries. The existence of such material cannot be denied,' but he continues: 'Some of it is no more serious than proof of the very human characteristics which missionaries share with all men, including most of the saints.' Let us look at the beginning of the Evangelical Mission work in India in the right perspective. For in this new mission work, where there was no experience to refer to and everything demanded a clear orientation, it meant that every problem demanded a fundamental explanation and more easily led to diverging tendencies than would be the case in the routine conditions of established Churches. Also the pioneer missionaries brought their own individualities into the new climate.

Differences and tensions were expected, though they caused surprise when they actually occurred. It would not be washing dirty linen in public if these controversies are described in more detail. It was not on trifles that controversy broke out between the Germans and the English: the caste questions, the re-ordination of Lutheran theologians when taken into English service, the attempted taking over of the declining Tranquebar Mission by the English, or the matter of the Catechism, which offered the material for the first conflict. The German missionary, Geister was engaged as an 'English missionary' by the society in London and received in audience by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. He landed in Madras in 1732. He it was who, on 31st January, 1746, introduced the English Catechism. That led to a quarrel with Fabricius, and on the following day, the two men could not even sit down at the same table. This even caused much grief to Prof. Francke, Jr. The idea of introducing the English Catechism had proceeded from Geister, but, as a letter of 1744 shows, it was eagerly taken up by the Society. After all, it was also an English Mission. This was something new, for the congregation in Madras had been established as a Lutheran one, and was considered, as Prof. Francke Jr. wrote, with the rest of the work 'as one work, and all the mission institutions as a common project of evangelical conversion'. A new status would result in a complete separation of the Danish and English mission. Tranquebar would be unable to send catechists or teachers, because they would neither understand the new Catechism nor even be able to teach it. Anyway, this Catechism was too lengthy for the poor children and catechumens to be able to learn by heart or understand plainly, and above all in this way

complications would arise between the missionaries and London and Halle.

However, Geister left Madras and the English Catechism with him. When he went to Cuddalore, he had to leave again because of the threat of the French.

Unfortunately, in Ziegenbalg's first years of office a problem arose which was later to occupy the whole Evangelical Mission, and even the great world mission conferences: the relation between the Mission and Government, between Church and State. How cordial this relation was occasionally, was made clear at the time of the building of the New Jerusalem Church. But it was not always so. Where we should place the blame it is hard to say, especially as before Ziegenbalg's trip home in 1714, 'an amnesty was arranged according to which everything that had happened should be forgiven and forgotten'. It is certain that both sides had complaints. One Commandant called the missionaries ruffians, fit for the gallows. The missionaries feared their letters might be censored and complained that they were 'hindered in everything' and found no 'helping hand for anything' from the Government, which really should respect the King, who had started the Mission, and with his House had shown his permanent interest in the work. The many quarrels would occasionally be relieved by tokens of friendship, and again alternate with hate and formality. Ziegenbalg wrote his complaints in a letter to the King in 1707. Before the ship left, 'the honourable Commandant came to us, made friends again, and promised that he would now help us.... we believed his words and promised that we would also write well about him. The letters were torn up—but the Commandant wrote anyhow what he wanted, which was of course recognized by the King as a lie'. So Ziegenbalg regrets that he did not send off his original letter in September 1707, for he would not have had to wait a whole year under pressure. Once he invited the Commandant as his guest to win him by love and live together in peace until the King should take action. But the invitation was refused. After his imprisonment Ziegenbalg wrote, that God knew how he loved the man from his heart and always tried to live with him in friendship.

The Government appeared as an 'evil authority', which cunningly worked, 'to tear everything down which had been built up'. One suspected that it wanted to put an end to the Mission. 'As he said to us himself, if it became any worse, he would have us missionaries sent out of here....Also he sought, how he might make us weary of the business, so that we would

go away of our own accord. . . . But since we were always cheerful, and confidently spoke the truth quite often to his face, he threatened us with all sorts of trouble. He would defame us before the whole world. . . . he would warn everybody about us, as having cheated our own country and people. . . . ', so they said about the Commandant on 30th August, 1710. But when a Roman Bishop came, he was saluted with nine guns, 'for the respect of our religion, when he entered into the Fort, and again when he left'. The missionaries always wrote home that the work would proceed better if they were not hindered. Once, in great need, they were looking forward to Rs. 6,000, which was to be delivered, on 1st August, 1708. The ship from home lay at anchor—but the boat used to transport the cargo capsized in the breakers and the gold sank into the sea. The company money had already been landed in the morning while the weather was good. The drunken captain had not permitted that any precautions be taken with the chest in the boat. The whole load was lost. On top of the loss, the people of the Mission had to bear the mockery of bystanders. Was it intended that they should not find the money chest? This was the general suspicion. There was some ground for this, because that afternoon and night were permitted to pass before any action was taken to retrieve the treasure from the shallow water which was only four feet deep. Did the drifting sand cover it—or did strange hands appropriate the goods? The diary describes how they themselves began to search, but alas in vain. The Commandant thought all this did not concern him and there was an emotional scene, in which he struck the missionary in the chest with his fist. A violent correspondence followed which is given in the diary records. At that time also 'without any reason, our German services in the Danish Church and our daily public Bible classes, in our own house were forbidden. But disregarding all this, we carried on and afterwards had even more hearers.'

The climax came in November 1708. The missionary wanted to have the illegitimate child of a Hindu woman and a Danish soldier baptized in the Jerusalem Church and brought up as a Lutheran, but at the instigation of somebody else the child had been hastily baptized by a Catholic padre, and then given into the care of the Lutheran missionaries. A court case ensued, and Pluetschau was summoned on 6th November, 1708. Even the non-Christians shook their heads and wondered about the extent of their quarrels on such small grounds.

Ziegenbalg suffered even worse. From November 19 to

March 26 of 1709, he sat in prison, in a sweat-hole next to the kitchen. Here with the heat of the kitchen and of the sun, he was put to the greatest discomfort. The prisoner was guarded by soldiers and not permitted to speak to anyone. The things which Pluetschau sent him were taken into custody, because they contained a letter. He was not permitted pen and paper and was even denied Tamil books. There was no question about continuing the translation of the Bible in which he had come as far as Matthew 23. The reports published by Halle about this period must have been touched up. There is just one reference, 'from 19 November, 1708, a severe affliction was placed upon us by God'. Only after Ziegenbalg's death was the affliction described, for on that day he was brought into the fort into prison.

Fortunately, the letters tell us more. It is useful that we have reports from Pluetschau as well as from Ziegenbalg. Thus Ziegenbalg wrote on 15th August, 1709, a good time after the events: 'If ours were only the words of men, we could not have stood up so long under these severe persecutions, since they thought of every means which would help to destroy us. The honourable Commandant out of hate and envy had me arrested on 19th November, 1708, like a murderer, though I was quite innocent, and in an unheard of way tyrannized over us and our congregation, so that not only the Christians, but the heathen also were greatly astonished'. He wrote in greater detail on 1st October, 1709 to Prof. Francke: 'We might now wish, that at this time we could write joyful news about the growth of our congregation; but we must lament with tears that through the tyranny of the authorities here it has been hindered in the growth we expected. For as soon as the vessel from home had sailed away the previous year, the honourable Commandant sought all sorts of means how he might stop the work or completely suppress it. Therefore, to bring disgrace upon the Evangelical religion, he took up a very unchristian procedure against us and tried to defame our calling among the heathen. When we protested to him, both by word of mouth and in writing, against his unchristian conduct, appealing to our most gracious King, finally altogether without any reason he had me arrested and without any legal trial or proof of any guilt, left me in prison for over four months, even closely guarded by soldiers. Through this the whole city became alarmed and feared that this might cause severe, divine punishment, which actually happened. But the honourable Commandant continued to rage and bluster, and brought all the Europeans together at the Fort, to take an

oath and promise that none of them should have anything to do with us under pain of severest punishment, saying that we wanted to start a rebellion. Similarly an order was read, even from the pulpit, that no one may come into our house or into our Church. And an order was sent to Pluetschau that he might no longer preach in German at Zion, nor hold the usual Bible class in the house. Through this our congregation was put into the highest sorrow and knew not where to take refuge. Some of the members were forcibly removed out of our Jerusalem Church and forbidden under severe punishment, to enter therein any more. Nor might anyone help the others, who were being so severely persecuted and oppressed. The Catechumens then went away and said : 'if they do that to our teachers, what won't they do to us ?' 'Some of our congregation, who had actually been baptized already, sought refuge in different places, and stayed there until I came out of prison. Our translator by the name of Aleppa, who has helped us so much in the Malabar language, they arrested in Pluetschau's house, and banished him from the city for no other cause than that he had said the honourable Commandant did much without reason. Our Catechist was estranged from my colleague, so that this good man had no help in the Malabar language, at a time when all my Malabar books had been put away under seal. On top of this they held back our salary and wanted to suppress the work by force. But God gave my dear colleague courage and confidence and roused many pious hearts, who extended ample help for the support of the schools. Neither my colleague, nor anyone from our congregation was allowed to come to me in prison ; finally it was even forbidden for me to use my colleague as father confessor in the prison. Nor was it permitted for me to work on the translation of the New Testament, which I had begun ; no ink, paper or pen was I allowed to have with me in prison. However, I did manage, without the knowledge of my enemies to write two books in the prison, *The God-pleasing Calling of Teaching* and *The God-pleasing Calling of the Christian*, neither of which have been published, of which I have dedicated one to the beloved fathers and faithful witnesses of the truth in Copenhagen, Berlin, and Halle, and the other to all the children of God in Denmark and Germany. I have sent both of these to Mr. M. Lange, requesting him to try to have them printed. After I had sat two months in prison, the honourable Commandant sent my colleague to me with a proposal for an amicable settlement. I left it to his good pleasure. Shortly after this, he sent him to me again and demanded that I declare myself against him in

writing. Upon this, I wrote a long letter to the whole Council and appealed to their conscience, but received no answer and had to sit another two months in prison, which was a pleasant haven of rest for me, and served me for the finest freedom of mind. In the meanwhile our enemies continued to rage and bluster. In love I invited the honourable Commandant as a guest to my prison and treated him most cordially. After that, he returned the invitation and finally released me from prison and we allowed the whole matter to rest with the decision of His Royal Majesty of Denmark, and shook hands in friendship. But the Commandant did not remain friendly for long. Even though he received the command of His Most Gracious Majesty, that he should give us all possible help in our holy office, he continued to rage and bluster and helped us in nothing. For example, a few days ago he had Gruendler's servant, son of the previous translator, brought into the city without any previous inquiry and arrested by the police. When Gruendler wrote to him about this, he refused to accept his letter and sent it back. When he wrote again, and even offered to stand security for the boy, he still would not release him; although the boy had not offended in anything. He was, however, not banished with his father from the city, but obtained permission either to stay here, or go with his father. In this way our office is put to shame among the heathen. One can say or write what one will, here everything goes not according to right, but purely according to might, so that the heathen cannot understand and say that such tyranny will bring the severe punishment of God. All this the bearer of this letter, Christian Ludevig, will relate more extensively. He has volunteered to travel to Halle. He has been here now for four years and seen everything that has been done to hinder this holy work. He has done very good service for me here by his writing and shown me much love in my prison. For when they would permit me to have no paper, ink, or pen, he was so resolute that he came at night and brought me paper and pencil at different times, so that through his services I have been able to complete the above two books. Afterwards, he also copied these out for me, and was nearly always in my house. For which Your Reverence might be able to show him there some love, which I would take as having been done to myself. I have always found an upright spirit in him and can certify that one may trust him.

'Our congregation increased this year with ten persons only, who were baptized after my imprisonment. There are also about twenty-seven catechumens, who daily come for instruction,

and will be baptized after this letter has gone off. If my imprisonment had not come in between, or if they had permitted me some freedom, I would have translated the whole New Testament into the Malabar language this year, but now have only got as far as Matthew and a part of Mark. After the imprisonment, I was out of sorts and also had to prepare a short Compendium of Theology, so that up to date I have not been able to work on the translation. As soon as the ships have been sent off, I will earnestly start to work on it again, and hope that this year with God's help the New Testament will be translated. I have also translated many of the Sunday Epistles as I preach on them. Perhaps I shall be able to send a copy of each for your museum. A Malabar printing press is very much needed by us. Everything else, Mr. Gruendler will report, who is of one heart and mind with us. May the Lord continue to be with us, as he was with His holy Apostles and keep us confident in the midst of our enemies. Kindly greet Dr. Breithaupt, Mr. D. Anton, Mr. Freylinghausen, Mr. Zoellner, and all the other faithful workers for the Lord. Herewith I close with very cordial greetings to you from my colleagues and from our congregation and remain,

Bound to Your Reverence in prayer and filial obedience,
Bartholomeaus Ziegenbalg '.

Ziegenbalg thought that he had been put in prison innocently. What was the cause ? Pluetschau informs us in detail about this. Out of sympathy for a widowed Tamil woman in his congregation, Ziegenbalg had approached the Commandant. The widow was in need because of her two children and an aged mother. A Catholic owed her money and could not prove that he had paid it back, and so he was to be forced to make a declaration under oath. The Commandant wrote back that the man indeed had no witnesses, ' still one could not force him to take an oath, because he was an honest man and would prefer to lose several hundreds rather than take an oath '. The widow went direct to the Commandant, when he attended the Zion Church. Thereupon a deadline was set, but the defendant did not turn up, because he had gone on a journey. On a second occasion the defendant pleaded illness. Now the Secretary with several witnesses looked him up in his house. According to a report from Secretary Attrup, he was now willing to take the oath and had already raised his fingers, ' which one should not have permitted, because the Commandant had forbidden it '. Ziegenbalg now applied to the lower court and requested a legal examination.

Pluetschau adds that if hard words were exchanged it was because they were not practised in such things and also that the Commandant through his contrariness might well have provoked Ziegenbalg into a little extra heat. He is of the opinion that the Commandant might have twisted Ziegenbalg's words into a different meaning. On the receipt of Ziegenbalg's application, the Commandant called for Pluetschau and told him he would soon realise the extent of his authority. To two summons, Ziegenbalg replied: ' with written explanations, adding that if it was insisted that he should appear personally, he would then request that his words be added to the sworn statement and a copy of it be given him. On November 19th, Ziegenbalg was again called by messenger, but he politely requested a reply to his letter.

After this there appeared a lieutenant with the police and a loaded rifle who attacked Ziegenbalg and wanted to take him away. The missionary begged that he might be permitted first to pray with Pluetschau. Hardly had he begun to pray when the Lieutenant sprang towards him with terrible curses and forcibly seized him in his nightgown, and amidst the people who had assembled in crowds in the street, had him led away to the fort. The draw-bridge was immediately drawn up behind him, as if a dangerous conspiracy had been discovered.

In his interesting charge sheet, bristling with accusations against the missionaries and their alleged suspicious work, which with Pluetschau's correcting remarks fills almost twenty-four pages in print, the Commandant goes into the incidents mentioned. Without question, the Commandant over-stepped himself and misused his official authority. Whatever complaints he had about the missionaries, the arrest and the long, improper imprisonment were without sufficient justification. Obviously he was not in favour of the whole mission work from the beginning, and he felt that Ziegenbalg had provoked him. If we look into his letters and his hardly objective or calmly written charge sheet, interspersed with quotations from the Bible, in the main there appear the following reproaches and complaints, which we can summarise as follows: In their relation with the Government, the Commandant expected more courtesy. He thought Ziegenbalg usually had an immodest and hot tongue, and an impudent tone (' such shameless form of speech unbecoming a subject '). To the admonition to meet his Government with more respect he replied with mocking laughter; he had a conceited wisdom and he exalted himself readily over everybody else; in fact, ambition and pride motivated the missionaries and intrigues were common!

The name of his Majesty they took with too little caution, and referred themselves too often to the King. In order to increase their following, they incited others against the Government and also against the Danish Chaplains; they belittled the respect for the authorities, got mixed up with things which did not concern them, and arrogated to themselves the right to reprove, even from the pulpit. They changed their former clothing, put on widebrimmed hats, and left off their wigs, and went about the streets accompanied by children singing songs. They surrounded themselves with bad people and convicts and wanted to have their spies in all positions. 'To put it briefly, the whole congregation of this missionary consists (despite their boasting) only of the previously mentioned slaves among the people and a group of evil, ill-bred creatures, who are drowned in sin and wickedness and must be maintained by them with food and clothing, together with some small children of whom one can have, in this present famine, as many as one wants to feed'. They gave out too much relief, collected money without permission, and were constantly pressing for donations; they showed an excess of missionary zeal even against the laws of nature and of the country. They had the idea that a master was not entitled to sell his slave if he had become a Christian and he no longer suited his master. He, the Commandant, never doubted the good intentions of the most gracious King and the proper calling of the missionaries for the conversion of the heathen. But he did doubt the correctness of their methods and procedure, and discovered in the missionaries a pedantic pride, concealed selfishness, injustice and tyranny. Their congregation was nothing else than an ill-bred crowd, and it was an enticement when they had in their house a 'lucky dip', that is, a box with Bible passages, out of which each guest could draw one for himself.

One feels that in these reproaches and accusations, the pen was not dipped in love or objectivity. But was the Commandant altogether wrong? No! We have to accept Pluetschau's remark that sometimes youthful enthusiasm led to mistakes. Prof. Francke also had reminded these young missionaries that the first years were a period for learning. He went further and wrote that P. J. Spener, and other men high in the Church were in the habit of dealing with their Government much more modestly than they were. At home, one paid attention not only to the progress of the mission, but just as closely to the mission workers themselves. He recommended vigilance because people watched what they did and did not do, just as closely as they watched the theologians at home. He also wrote to

Tranquebar what they had learned to think about them in Germany: that the zeal they had shown in their work had from the beginning lacked wisdom and moderation. If they had not been so zealous in the beginning, a better relation with the Commandant would surely have come about. As young people, they had imagined, mistaking the actual conditions, that their position as missionaries of the King might put fear into the Commandant and others. Francke had wished that they 'had approached the Commandant and others with more submission'. Even where they had met with unfair opposition, they should have shown more prudence, submission and moderation.

Professor C. Michaelis also wrote in the autumn of 1716 to Francke: Even if the Commandant had dealt unfairly with them, on their side more modesty, indulgence, humility, and caution could have been applied for they had not succeeded in keeping the right tone in their correspondence with Government. The missionaries desired protection and help in the proper things from Government, but then they should themselves show respect and teach others the same. Neither should they write to Copenhagen and try to get the authorities changed for it was not likely that better or more experienced people were available, and above all the motto of Christians and servants of God must be to suffer and wait patiently for God's intervention. Was Ziegenbalg really in earnest when he said that they would expect less opposition even from a Mohammedan Government? At home they doubted this opinion.

We thus see that the missionaries were not declared innocent of any fault. It is certain that the missionaries made many mistakes, but also that their situation in the beginning was incomparably harder than a missionary's position today.

Unfortunately the missionaries did not always get on smoothly with the Danish chaplains. Ziegenbalg wrote that the Danish priests could not endure the truth in the life and preaching of the missionaries, so that the Government and the chaplains 'hitherto have hindered us very much in our calling among the heathen, as otherwise probably more than 300 or 400 souls of the heathen would have been converted to our Christian religion.' We also know that the relation between the ministers from the two different countries and from the two different theological schools became normal to the extent of open friendship, and the Danish chaplains took an interest in the building of the Church. And at the dedication of the Church, both Danes and Germans officiated together at one altar.

Ziegenbalg and Gruendler consulted each other on everything and A. H. Francke praises them. Ziegenbalg attests on 22nd August, 1708, that they both 'walked in one spirit and in all things are of one mind'. Both are 'dear and loyal colleagues' to each other; through these 'two united hearts' God had been able to achieve much. Between the 'dear Mr. Pluetschau' and Ziegenbalg 'the highest unity, brotherly love, peace, and the most beautiful harmony' reigned in everything; 'with Mr. Pluetschau I have always tried to maintain unity. The dear brother likewise, from his first arrival, has been one heart and mind with me, and I with him, which has been our greatest comfort in all tribulation'. Never do we find anything to discredit Pluetschau. Yet, this fellowship was endangered as was shown by the Boevingh affair. Pluetschau sided with missionary Boevingh, and in December 1709, even left the fellowship of the other brethren. As Boevingh's father confessor, he defended him and even became embittered if we may follow the description of missionary Jordan, 1710. He even says: 'Pluetschau here for the first time revealed the condition of his heart, how he was opposed to Mr. Ziegenbalg and Mr. Gruendler, which then showed itself always more and more.' And unfortunately, how that showed itself can be read in the records: Pluetschau neglected the work in the school, 'took the children out of school when he felt like it, kept them away from church when Ziegenbalg preached', and when Ziegenbalg spoke to him about it, 'turned on him and told him to mind his own business and quarrelled so long with Ziegenbalg that many people came running up.' When there was conversation regarding work or talk at table about better arrangements and supervision, it turned into scolding and quarrels. When Ziegenbalg travelled to Madras in 1710, 'Pluetschau arrogated to himself the management of the house, school, church, and congregation', and did so much damage that it was a pity. He dealt harshly with the teachers and scolded them. With the converts he dealt so unsympathetically, that they ran away to the Catholics. He gave generous gifts out of the treasury, wrote one annoying letter after another to Jordan. What Pluetschau and Boevingh decided, had to be carried out, no contradiction was permitted, not even from Gruendler. In this Pluetshcau contributed to the decline of the work. These features in Pluetschau are new to us. Did he feel, since Gruendler's arrival, that he was being pushed to the side and was a superfluous number three? Did Ziegenbalg's importance bother him? Perhaps he thought that Ziegenbalg was infected by pride. He knew that Ziegenbalg

was somewhat hotheaded, and the honour shown him, as in the big Madras journey, he could not endure. After the explosive discharge of long held back feelings and inhibitions, to which Boevingh had set the spark, the old relationship was restored, and there was no more friction. The spiritual man in Pluetschau showed himself as healthy, and the strength of their mutual forgiving was real and enduring.

It was different with Boevingh. He came out in 1708 with Gruendler. Already at the Cape of Good Hope, Gruendler wrote to Dr. Luetkens at Copenhagen and to Halle, about all sorts of differences on the voyage. Gruendler had charge of the money, which did not suit Boevingh. They could not agree on prayer fellowship, and Boevingh appeared to be one in whom 'the grace of regeneration was missing'. Ziegenbalg wrote on 11th October, 1709 that much as he was satisfied with Grüendler and Jordan, Boevingh did not suit him. 'With the other missionary who has been sent from Copenhagen, the congregation is poorly served. His contentious spirit and distrustful mind has already given much offence here. If in future you send any more such missionaries, more will be pulled down than built up.' In another unpublished letter, we hear that Boevingh 'has altogether joined the enemies of this work and left the congregation, school, and all work for nine months'. They often tried to live in peace with him. There were reconciliations and embracings, but soon everything went wrong again. Ziegenbalg indicates that Boevingh did not go to the church for almost a whole year and did not want to work. Fortunately, he separated himself from Tranquebar, went to Bengal, and from there back to Europe. In Tranquebar, they thanked God for this, because harmony, love, peace, unity, and a common bond of mind were restored.

Unquestionably, Boevingh was a heavy burden for the brethren and for the work. Whether he was really unconverted and quarrelsome is hard to say. But that he had a strong tendency to distrust and jealousy, as well as to hasty and violent criticism, we will have to agree with his colleagues. He even distrusted Pluetschau : when the soup looked too brown to him, he became suspicious. Pluetschau had to bring all the materials before him and cook the soup again. It was still brown ! Then they both ate it. Perhaps it would have been different if the mission had had a head as later on when Ziegenbalg was made Provost. As it was the newcomer had the right to give his opinion in everything, although he did not know all the facts. During Boevingh's illness, the missionaries faithfully nursed him and

watched over him. Again he suspected the 'costly medicines from Europe' and refused to take them. He did not make much progress in Tamil, and suspected that during his third (and last) catechism lectures in the church, the others had laughed at him. The news about this quarrel among the brethren, which even led to some leaving their common lodging, was a blow to Prof. Francke, especially as this news came to him indirectly through England and Denmark. He sent a pastoral epistle, admonishing the brethren to humility, self-criticism, and mutual forgiveness. More he could not do, because he could not decide the matter himself, nor condemn anybody. From a later letter it appears that he 'could expect nothing good' of Boevingh, after he had read his writing.

Boevingh's writings we have in print. These are letters of a young missionary, written under the heat of the sun and in the heat of battle. Their author had not intended them to be made public, for he knew and admitted that his report was incomplete, since he did not yet have the necessary understanding of the situation, due to his illness and his ignorance of the language. No doubt he was shocked when he heard that an over zealous friend had printed them. His explanations about the internal affairs in Tranquebar comprise twenty-two pages in print. He reported: 'Mr. Ziegenbalg speaks too little of the most beloved Saviour and faith in Him, but suspiciously much of works and other articles, nor does he hold fast to the example of the saving Word, not to mention other things'. Francke now thought he could see clearly whence all this unrest had come. He fixed the starting point of the differences with Boevingh and requested the missionaries in Tranquebar to draw up a refutation. This was necessary, but it had to be short, very modest, and thorough. Ziegenbalg immediately sat down and wrote sixty-three fool-scap sheets entitled an 'Apology of the Royal Danish Missionaries among the Heathen in India against the Letters of Boevingh, in which the evil accusations unjustly made against them and against the work of conversion, are quoted and answered, and the real circumstances of the controversies and the nature of the whole work are briefly presented....' The original has been preserved for us in the mission archives in Halle. The intended publication was not carried out for fear it would re-open a controversy that had died down in the meanwhile. Considering the mistakes on both sides, the fact that Pluetschau later on moved away from his spiritual son, seems to be a welcome confirmation for us, as to who was chiefly at fault in these unedifying quarrels. When Pluetschau was sitting at the

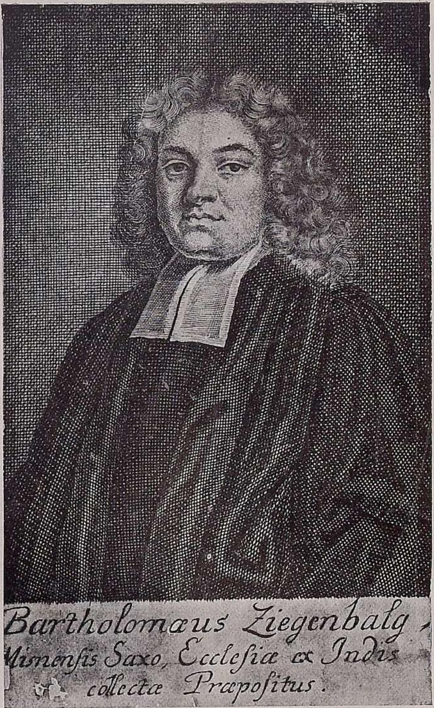
Luebeck Posthouse on his way to the Danish King in January 1713, Boevingh unexpectedly stepped in. Since they were both travelling to the same place, they sat next to each other in the coach—but mostly without speaking. Boevingh several times regretted that his letters had been put into print, and announced his intention to prevent any harm to the work of the mission. Pluetschau preferred not to talk, because he knew his former colleague too well and was afraid that whatever he said would be used and interpreted in a different sense.

In the year of Ziegenbalg's death, on September 16th, 1719, three un-ordained missionaries arrived in Tranquebar—Benjamin Schultze, Nikolaus Dal, and Heinrich Kistenmacher. Already during the trip, Kistenmacher and Schultze had not understood each other well, and in India, the gap widened, when Schultze drew close to Gruendler and Kistenmacher felt himself isolated. He died in 1722.

Nor did it go well with Dal. He criticized much in Schultze. Francke had learned to esteem him in spite of his lack of consideration and his somewhat violent temperament. He meant well, and was amenable to kindness. His eagerness and honesty spoke for him, but against him spoke his hasty love of writing, even if he had the consolation that his colleagues had not used milder expressions. Schultze was an able worker, even though sometimes slipshod. It was he who founded the mission at Madras in 1728. Unfortunately, with his outstanding ability he had a highhanded and self-willed nature. The temptations of ambition he was not always able to overcome, so it must unfortunately be said that, as in Tranquebar, so also in Madras, he got into differences with his colleagues. This poor man went so far that he did not permit his colleagues to address him as 'Colleague' if they were not ordained !

When Fabricius later on began the revision of the Bible and sent his manuscript to Tranquebar, it was considered necessary there to make changes in the manuscript of which Fabricius knew nothing. About this there was a factual, but very polite and loving correspondence, out of which the offended Fabricius came out honourably.

Unfortunately there broke out in distant Tranquebar a violent controversy between the Halle people and the Herrnhuter pietists. Suddenly, on 2nd July, 1760, fourteen Herrnhuter landed, and in 1761 again another thirteen followed. This was an annoyance for Halle and for Tranquebar. The Herrnhuter wanted Tranquebar as a base to get their mission started in the Nicobar Islands. But here they encountered consider-



BARTHOLOMAEUS ZIEGENBALG 1682-1719

J. E. GRUENDLER 1677-1720

able difficulties. This 'Brother-garden in Tranquebar' continued until the decision was made in 1795 to end it. Some of the carved chairs still standing in the Jerusalem church are supposed to have come from the workshop of the Herrnhuter. The Herrnhuter remained there for eight years before they began their difficult work on the island Nankauri, which they soon had to discontinue again. The Herrnhuter brethren tried to set up a regular model of a Brother-congregation, but without intending to begin mission work. They were also supposed to be lights in the darkness, and by this they did not mean the heathen, as the Herrnhuter writer expresses it in 'History of the Brother Mission in the Nicobar Islands and the Brother-garden in Tranquebar', but 'meant, the congregation of the Halle Mission'. Quite plainly their Bishop had told them when they set out: 'You will find a Christian Church among the heathen established on a Lutheran footing.... One cannot say that it was planned for a conversion of the heathen, but when they were instructed in the Lutheran doctrine, had learned it, and professed it, they were baptized and became Christians.... If you can bring life to the natives there who have been baptized, how I shall rejoice!'

From the beginning of the mission work the importance of the right type of missionary was realised. 'To write for ordained missionaries, we are very timid and hesitant....one would have to see to it that they are such persons as have not only worldly erudition and a wide awake intelligence for learning languages, but also stand in true conversion and regeneration, and are given to true piety, and also have wisdom and spiritual experience to deal with many different kinds of people wisely, and at the same time have truly renounced the world and self'. This was written in 1712. The missionaries wanted to have a training seminary on the field. Ziegenbalg wrote from London on 22nd February, 1716, that the Bishop of London had the intention to open a seminary for missionaries. Likewise, in Copenhagen, in 1714 there was talk of this, for which work they had Pluetschau in mind. But nothing came of it.

CHAPTER IX

HELPERS IN EUROPE

In Denmark, Germany, and England, there were helpers. These freely expended on the young missionaries love, loyalty, and intercession. Reading the records, one feels that the Tranquebar mission became the focal point of an intense glow of faith and love. The missionaries were well aware of this, expressed their thanks, and with their prayers forged the first link in the great ecumenical bond. They closed their letters with 'most bound to prayer and love. . . . ' and certified to their daily supplication to God on behalf of the Royal House. In their daily prayer meetings, they put into practice their promise to pray for friends at home. The missionaries made use of helpers in Europe. They expected from them spiritual support, fresh supplies, of missionaries and doctors, money, medicine, a printing press, and also 'European beverages, which were very good for their blood', Ziegenbalg often putting in a request for a case of beer. We already know that the messengers of the faith were not pampered by too lavish bestowals of money, but most of the time lived in need. How gladly would Mrs. Ziegenbalg have put before her ailing husband nourishing food and drink—but for this money was required. We have the information that Ziegenbalg deliberately accustomed himself to be satisfied with simple Indian fare, and the ailing Gruendler, shortly before his death made the trip to Cuddalore by water in a small boat 'to save money'.

More difficult to bear was inner sorrow. Of that Ziegenbalg wrote to Copenhegen shortly before his death on 19th January 1719. 'Also several letters which we received in the years 1717 and 1718 from Europe, contributed not a little to so depress my spirits that I have not been able to carry out my duties with the former joy'. With that came the remark after his second trip out 'the work was supported less from Denmark than formerly'. Yes, what he had collected during his furlough at home in all parts of Germany, about 10,000 Taler (Rs. 30,000) was used in Denmark to 'promote Christianity in the homeland through a cheap edition of the Bible. This was the first sad confusion between the foreign and the so-called home mission.'

So the missionaries sometimes received other than cheer from their homeland. What Director Graul later on called 'the misundertanding of distance' showed itself at that time, as it still does. There was a lack of experience and clarity in planning.

They worked with insufficient tools. But we must not expect too much from the first mission leaders and should not compare them with the well-informed Boards of today. Rather one can be glad that there were so few beginners' mistakes, that the home authorities had a penetrating view and also gave spiritual counsel of the type that was bold enough to help the young missionaries to realize their errors and shortcomings.

The front rank among the European helpers goes to the Danes. Even though there was a shortage in Denmark of 'volunteers who were willing to offer their lives', yet it was from there that the work was set in motion. As the missionaries wrote to Crown Prince Christian on 28th December, 1712, 'this Tranquebar serves as a glorious memorial of the Royal Dynasty of Denmark, both here in India among the heathen, and also there in Europe among many Christian nations'. In a 'circular letter of the manifestations of the favours shown by His Royal Majesty of Denmark' dated 8th May, 1714, we have a detailed description about the Danish share in the founding of the work. It describes how the King wished to know the German missionaries personally, and to hear them, how owing to the increasing opposition in Tranquebar he took up the matter himself, and how when the other helpers discontinued their contributions, he assumed 'the whole burden', in spite of threats of war and an epidemic at home. If the missionaries suffered un-warranted treatment, his Royal Majesty openly expressed his displeasure, and let it be known that he would protect these servants in their office, to which he himself had appointed them. Therefore he had everything examined by conscientious and godly men and report made to himself.

On the 11th September, 1711, the Royal Foundation was established, so that the affairs of the mission might be 'perpetuated and continued for future successors . . . for unchanging permanence' even beyond the period of Frederick IV's reign. Out of the postal treasury 2,000 Taler were sanctioned annually for the mission. This was intended first of all for the maintenance of four missionaries, and the balance of 1.200 Taler for the schools and other work. This settlement was to be binding on the King's successors and loyal subjects, and in case of contravention, they should 'expect the inescapable punishment of God'. This regulation was to be valid 'to time eternal'—it is still valid today and is carried out! When Dr. Luetkens heard of this, he said: 'Now I can die happily'. 'The inspection of the mission' was entrusted to three men, Prof. Lodberg, Bishop Ocksen, and Prof. Trellund. In order

that the officials in Tranquebar 'with concealed or open force could not oppose the missionaries', an explicit order was issued to the Directors of the East India Company in 1713, to assure that 'the honourable Commandant and Council of His Royal Majesty in Tranquebar, might know His will and good pleasure, that he wanted to hear of no further opposition, such as had hitherto met the missionaries in carrying out their duties and that rather they might show all possible help and support'. Therefore it was arranged that the Tamil printing press should be established there in Tranquebar without hindrance. For the typesetters and their freight, the King in a 'Protectorium' of 9th December, 1712, requested the protection and aid of all Kings and authorities whose waters the ship might cross and at whose ports it might enter. The King constantly called for reports on the progress of the mission and spoke about it with his people and with guests from abroad. The members of the Royal House not only sent donations of their worldly goods, but '. . . wrote kind letters to the missionaries or ordered their most important officials to write to them. . . . just so that the good people might thus be encouraged to carry out their duties with more joy and so much greater strength'. Of the donation of 2,000 Taler, the King informed the missionaries on 19th January, 1714, and also informed them that the authorities in Tranquebar had been instructed to give them an annual advance of 1,000 Taler in case the ships should be delayed, which had happened often, during the last two years.

The King made an extra donation of 2,000 Taler to cover debts and for better accommodation. Besides this, the King issued the missionaries 'a gracious privilege to print freely and without any censorship, whatever books and writings they needed in Tamil or any other language'. The condition was to send copies of everything printed to the learned Professors Trellund and Lodberg. Of this 'will and command' the authorities in Tranquebar received intimation, so that there might be no hindrance in the literary work from their side. The King even did what had not been done so far; he wrote to the missionaries that in future they would receive more assistance than in the past. Unfortunately 'all the grace shown turned to water and fell deep into the sea'—for the ship sank. This was another example of the immense difficulty of regularly caring for the lonely and needy missionaries! But all the kindness and donations of money were replaced, and all 'privileges, orders, and decrees were renewed'. And this was done, although money was very scarce due to war. The letters were again

written including the Royal letter, which has been preserved for us in print. The Royal writer of the letter admonishes the missionaries that they should in their work 'use such care that no one could complain about you rightfully....and that you might know that you may freely pour out to us all just grievances'.

The missionaries fulfilled faithfully and in deatil the duty to report regularly to Copenhagen. This we know from the many copies in the Halle Reports of letters to members of the Royal family and to individuals and the yearly 'Reports to the Royal House of Denmark from all the Missionaries at Tranquebar'. Very seldom is it said that the customary annual report to Copenhagen was not received in Halle, and so could not be published.

For greater stability of the whole mission work 'in India, in Northland, and in Finland', where some of our 'subjects unfortunately still live in heathen ways and blindness', the King established a college for the spread of the Gospel at the end of 1714. Five men, of whom two were Professors of Theology, were appointed to take care of the whole business of the mission, which, according to the Royal will, was to be carried out 'with the greatest of care and despatch'. In a proclamation of twelve pages, this was published for the information of the public. This was supplied to all the Clergy, Bishops, Superintendents, Provosts, and priests in the Danish lands, and to the clergy elsewhere with the request to bring the work of conversion before the children of God and support it with their council and aid. An appeal was also made to the laity, both those who 'quietly serve and honour their God' and also those laymen 'who stand in worldly appointments', that within the potentialities of their calling and due to their knowledge of the world, they do whatever possible to further the work. Then an appeal was directed to the students of theology, that those who discovered in themselves an inclination for service in the mission, should report themselves.

The missionaries sent reports of their work at first to this Board, and also to the Royal House. As far as can be seen from the Halle archives, they later on reported only to the King. History was to show that though this Board was praiseworthy and a model for the Church, no blessing came out of it. Indeed it questioned the very existence of the mission and Ziegenbalg was almost inclined to leave the mission and return to Europe. He said this twice to his colleague Gruendler, when the misunderstanding in Copenhagen depressed him in spirit.

What they thought and planned in Copenhagen seemed to the

missionaries to be a destruction of what they had just built up. It affected the nature and methods of the mission. Wendt who was the spokesman and secretary of the Board, had been influenced by Boevingh and mistrusted Ziegenbalg and Gruendler. Wendt's ideal was an apostolic mission. He took offence at the externals in the mission activity and thought he noticed too little actual work among souls. He feared that the missionaries permitted these externals to keep them away from their real missionary task. Wendt felt that Jesus had given His disciples a different example. Should further money be sent from Europe for all the churches and schools and for all those employed in them, and for food and drink ? 'In externals,' he said, 'Asia must be able to help itself without Europe, and must receive from Europe only the divine and heavenly, the Word of God and the godly life.' He blamed Ziegenbalg for having acquired a house and garden with funds 'which well meaning souls had donated to him, not for houses and gardens'! They built a church there 'for many thousands, through which not a single soul is being saved'. It sounds very modern when he continues: 'But what will come out of it ? A European Christendom'.

And, on top of all this came the marriages of two missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Gruendler. Gruendler by marrying the widow of the Vice-Commandant 'a woman in good circumstances' had 'become a merchant'. Although Gruendler was ready to pay a tenth of the interest to the mission, nobody in Copenhagen was ready to do the good turn of transferring the 8,000 Taler of his wife to Tranquebar. Since Gruendler now had a rich wife, they decided not to raise his salary any more. He had now only 200 Taler per year and the unpunctual arrival of the money prevented him from any enjoyment of wealth.

Francke requested that the allowances might be raised for the married men. He wanted 500 Taler per head or at least 400. They needed this, and they were not out for money, as they had shown long ago, because if they wished they could have given up India and with their qualifications obtained better posts at home. One could not sufficiently thank God that 'they thought about no temporary advantages in Europe, but were ready to live and to die with the Indians'. The request was kept in abeyance for a number of years, and finally 300 Taler was sanctioned. However, the conditions seemed so unworthy to Ziegenbalg that he never accepted the increase.

Fenger's *History of the Tranquebar Mission* is silent about all these difficulties and discussions of basic principles. The Halle reports are also silent, as they were intended for wide

circulation. Fortunately, we can get information from letters, which were private and not even communicated to intimate friends, least of all to the relatives of Mrs. Ziegenbalg.

What was the reply of the missionaries to the reproaches and to the questions about basic methods ? If we look up their explanations, we meet with the guiding principles of the first missionaries, which in modern language would read like a theory of missions.

Thus Ziegenbalg writes on 15th August, 1718, to Mr. Wendt, 'As the body is bound to the soul, so precisely is the service of the body connected with the service of the soul, and these cannot be separated from each other. This work demands the service of the whole man. If I deny such service, I deny that in which the Scripture places the proper manner of faith and love.' If one shows such childlike obedience and gives others a testimony of upright faith and active love, it is enough. Just to live quietly for oneself without showing one's faith in dealing with others, does not mean that one has made great progress in his position as a Christian. On the contrary: 'the more one devotes himself to the service of his neighbour, and gladly helps him in bodily and spiritual needs, the stronger one must be in Christianity'.

Ziegenbalg writes regarding their married life: 'Our households and families do not hinder us in the work among souls. As far as I am concerned, my household is not the least hindrance in my actual duties, for God had provided me with a good helpmate and all household cares have been taken from me. As for my colleague Gruendler, God has also provided him with such a helpmate in marriage, so that he does not have to worry about any details of his household. Nor was his wealth in any way an embarrassment, because his wife's wealth was all in Europe. And since this was all detained there, I know that he has already more than 1,000 Taler debts, on which he has to pay 8-10% interest. Thus we do not let our official work suffer on account of our personal matters.' But the poverty of the congregation members took their time. If anyone became a Christian, he was cast out of his family. 'Therefore such people must have some assignment for their livelihood'. In such cases, before they become Catechumens, 'we must provide for their subsistence. If we would deny them this service, we might deprive them of the means of salvation, in that they would go somewhere else for the sake of their physical support.' Likewise, those who were baptized needed advice and help in order to obtain work and food. Then many quarrels had to be heard and settled, and many visitors also took their time. The schools and

the printing press, the buildings and maintenance of the institutions and correspondence on their behalf had to be attended to. 'In the general Conference these matters are naturally prominent. We have to keep accounts, which often results in personal loss, because one has to make up whatever one forgets to account for in the rush of business. The external things in the mission are of such a nature that they have to be carried on with the main work, but the care of souls remains the main concern.'

In Halle, they also took the part of the missionaries against the 'Superpietistic Mission Board' in Copenhagen. It was their opinion that even Paul, under Indian circumstances, would have concerned himself about the bodily support of the converts. Halle brought to mind that the missionaries had originally been assigned to Tranquebar, and that the care of the congregation gathered there was not to be neglected, so they requested that the missionaries might be encouraged. It was they who had to carry the heaviest burden, and if they went away, how could suitable successors be obtained?

In Halle it was also realized, more clearly than in Copenhagen, that one had to leave much to the missionaries, because they knew the conditions. Halle even defended marriage for the missionaries. Francke had had serious scruples himself, but eventually Francke himself performed the marriage ceremony for the Ziegenbalg couple at St. George's in Halle. Dorothea Saltzmann was Ziegenbalg's pupil at Morsaburg and a relative of Dr. Spener. According to a letter of Prof. Michaelis to Wendt on 18th December, 1716, neither Prof. Francke nor Ziegenbalg's friends advised him not to marry. 'One saw' he said, 'marriage was after all in itself not a punishable digression, which would hinder the Mission. For there had been also married apostles!' The results of insisting on celibacy had been experienced in 1718. Among the candidates for the mission was one, who had not only passed the examination but who was engaged to be married. Wendt wrote to him that the mission needed, since the present missionaries had been tied down to Tranquebar through their marriages, 'mainly single persons, who could carry on the work of verbally proclaiming the Gospel unhindered and freely and go out prepared for whatever they might meet'. On this the engaged couple released each other from their promises. But the Board decided not to send him out on the ground that he was very upset and in an emotional state.

It was the basic view of Halle that the missionaries must be watchful, lest in their mission activity too many things hinder the chief work of their calling.

We can hardly speak of an actual direction of the work from Copenhagen in a narrow sense. The mission received backing and support, but Halle remained the real intellectual and spiritual centre during the 18th Century. Fenger also writes that the work was controlled from Germany. Although a casual glance makes it appear as if the business of the mission was conducted by the Mission Board in Copenhagen, and that Francke, father and son, were only subordinate advisors, their lively interest and participation was effective for the mission, so that the Board in doubtful and important cases called for the opinion of Halle. As counsellor, Halle had made itself so indispensable with its advice in everything, that to a certain extent it had become also the legislator. In the previously mentioned prospectus of the newly founded Mission Board, all those who were known to be 'happy over the course of the Gospel or anxious to know whatever happens in the whole world', were referred to the Reports published in Halle. In 1728, when the Danish Crown Prince and his wife were on the way home from Karlsbad, they spent a few days, July 31 to August 3, in Halle. The Crown Prince enquired about the mission work and listened to several proposals very graciously, and since two members of the Mission Board were with him, was also able to confer with them.

In spite of the Danish management, the Danish subsidy and the Board at Copenhagen, the direction of the mission was substantially in Germany, that is, in Halle. According to the mission historian, Gustav Warneck, the mission had its foundation in the personality of August Hermann Francke. Much has been written about his great share in the mission work and Warneck is quite right, that Francke kept the Danish Mission awake. The first missionaries were his pupils. This includes Ziegenbalg who showed himself in every respect a real disciple of Francke's, even if Francke said once that he would hardly have chosen Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau. But it was after all Francke who chose the missionaries, and later on, he was a real father in Christ to the ten missionaries sent out during his life time, who were all his pupils and co-workers in Halle.

Francke made the cause of the mission familiar in the Church by word of mouth and in print. To him there was no question or theological problem about the relation between the Church and the mission. After all, the work in India was nothing new. It was not different from the work of saving souls which is the work of every true pastor and Christian. Mission work was to him the one important work of the Church. Included in this work as a matter of course was also the theological faculty in

Halle, of which he and his co-workers were professors. The theological faculty rendered, as previously mentioned, an opinion on the question of the Catechumenate, and Francke Jr. could certify in 1727 that they could rejoice in the advice of the whole theological faculty.

At Halle they had many connections and a large correspondence. All this was put into the service of the mission. Letters came and went from many places in Germany and also in foreign lands including America, and this meant much for the mission work, and ecumenical union in a common work. Besides this, there was a Danish correspondence with Norway and England.

Among the German correspondents was the great theologian, Albrecht Bengel, who wrote a splendid letter to Tranquebar on 17th November, 1751. We read: 'The news of the course of the Word and of the growth of God's kingdom in the Orient and in America arouse to thanks and praise all who love the salvation of God.'

One special deed of the helpers in Halle was the literary publication of the missionaries' many letters, their diaries, reports, and descriptions of the religion and way of living of the Tamils, sermons and conversations, as well as important things from home. The first mission publication of Tranquebar letters, A. H. Francke undertook in his 'Halle correspondence' in March and August of 1707. An outstanding work of A. H. Francke however, was the creation of the 'Halle Reports', which represent the first mission magazine. They appeared in nine thick volumes from 1713 on to 1767, and contained 108 further reports with valuable prefaces by the various editors. There followed eight thick volumes from 1776-1848, the '*Later History of the Evangelical Mission Institutions for Conversion of the Heathen in East India*'. And from 1849 to 1880 the '*Mission-news of the East-Indian Mission Institution at Halle*'. All the 'Halle Reports', especially those for the pioneer period, are mines of knowledge of the most unusual type. So we read in a report published in 1746, the prayer after meals and learn from it what was the name used for God: Saruwesenuckistotriam. The use of Paraparan came only in the period immediately following. How interesting today is the statement of the cost of keeping a child and of the price of travel in 1743.

Some of the mission reports published in Halle were also translated into Dutch. Not all those who were interested in the reports were able to acquire these thick volumes. And whoever wanted to use the reports soon got lost in the wealth

of the information and reports on the work, figures, and statistics. Therefore, the advocate J. L. Niekamp condensed the first forty-four articles and supplied a complete index of names and subjects, through which the contents of the reports were made easily available to all users. This '*Short Outline of Mission History or Extract of the Evangelical Mission Reports of East India from* 1705-1736, *with two valuable maps*', appeared in Halle in 1740. Soon translations into Dutch, French, and also Latin appeared.

This broad literary work meant much for the mission at home and in India. Perhaps these reports were edited to suit their readers. In fact much was kept secret and not brought into the Halle reports. On the title page of the 19th article, one reads 'the condition of the mission....is described truthfully'. But in the following reports, the reader notices nothing of the confused circumstances which ruled in the mission at that time. All the controversies between the missionaries are purposely left out. Certainly everything is true, that is reported. It is also certain that what has been left out belongs to the complete picture. Also, of the building and dedication of the large Jerusalem Church, they did not at first want to put anything into the magazine. A. H. Francke gives the reason: 'Because it cannot be supposed that this account would be specially agreeable to well-minded souls and bring favourable results'. Much more important than the building of a church was the gain of one soul! Such thoughts would have been expressed not only in Germany, but also in Copenhagen and perhaps even in England, where outward splendour in worship was considered worthwhile. Would not a simple hall have been sufficient and suited to the simplicity of the first Christians? Many friends seemed to think that now not much more money was needed, and actually a decline in the gifts was supposed to be connected with the building of the church. To this time belongs also the suppressing of the publication of Ziegenbalg's Indological works.

The direction of the work from Halle was active for a longer period than the Copenhagen Board. Besides the selection, preparation, and commissioning of the mission-forces, there were all sorts of other things requested and expected of them which kept them busy. Very early they procured for Tranquebar a press, and had the Tamil letters prepared in Halle. Again in 1753, it is reported that 'new Malabar letters had been cut and cast and already sent to Tranquebar'. Often they sent medicines from the orphanage dispensary! Curios which the missionaries sent to Halle such as a tiger or a leopard skin, a fly-whisk of peacock feathers, a Chinese jewellery box inlaid

with gems and painted, and inscribed palm-leaves, were turned over to the orphanage museum, which was the first to be arranged according to scientific principles. A quite unexpected and unusual demand, which can be classified as a priority of the Tranquebar mission was a request to Prof. Lange to act for them as matchmaker and do whatever was necessary to send out prospective brides. The marriage problem had only come into being after Gruendler's arrival. And now they frankly and confidently requested the homeland for a kind rendering of assistance. Fortunately for the poor professor in Halle, Ziegenbalg and Gruendler already had definitely persons in view, so that the torment of making a choice was not added. Out of letters we know their names : In 1709, Ziegenbalg longed for 'the maiden Juliana Poenioke of Lauchstaedt' (near Halle) and Gruendler the 'Miss Muehlheinin from the Altenburg Institute'. A year later, in October 1710, they expected the ladies to be already on the way out. For they had authorized Prof. Lange 'to deal with the matter of the marriage, as he saw fit and to expedite it, as this means very much to us'. Ziegenbalg made it clear that if his marriage turned out as planned, the Board should not reckon on his return to Europe, unless they thought it necessarily on account of the work. The professor should send these 'two persons out with the first ship. If it is not possible with a Danish ship, they might travel to England to reach London before January, where Mr. Boehme, Mr. Ludolf, Mr. Hoar, and Mr. Salaras would give information how they could comfortably come out with an English ship . . . Of course, there are among the Danes, Dutch, and English, women available . . . but we want to have such wives who could help us, not only in bodily matters but also in spiritual, and these are rather hard to find here. Our intention and the business itself is good. If it be the will of the Lord, so let it be, otherwise we shall also be content and will suit ourselves according to what reply we receive next year. I did not want to write anything to Juliana myself, partly because I hope that she will already be on the way, and partly because I do not know what could be done if she is still at hand. Lauchstaedt is very near Halle, and she could be called there, and then if necessary, this could be read to her along with a hearty greeting in the Lord.' Why the wedding did not materialize is nowhere explained, nor could we guess the causes. Probably the causes were more to be found with disapproving relatives than with the girls. The missionaries waited in vain and later on married other women.

After mentioning this not uninteresting episode, which was

frequently repeated in later mission history, we turn to another task which demanded much time and energy at home, the acquiring the money needed for the work.

From Denmark came the already indicated fixed amount, and occasionally collections, voluntary donations, and gifts from the Royal House. But these contributions were not sufficient. Besides material gifts as, for example, the printing press, there also came gifts from England, for which India and Halle were very thankful, but the main burden Halle had to bear.

Through Francke's Halle mission treasury, the work was not only helped now and then, but through its existence and efficiency, emergencies were met. Just as the mission as a whole could not have stood without Halle, so it was dependent financially on Halle.

In the beginning, the homeland had no conception of what besides the meagre maintenance of the missionaries would be necessary for establishing and maintaining a mission station.

It is painful that the first messengers of the Lutheran Church, not only suffered need and often lived on borrowed money, but also themselves had to act as money collectors. At first Halle did not publish the 'begging letter' of 16th October, 1706, although the request was moderate and restrained. How differently sounds an unprinted letter of the missionaries Ziegenbalg, Gruendler and Jordan, to A. H. Francke six years later! 'Oh, how we wish with intense longing, that after so much long waiting the helping hand be finally stretched out from Europe in earnest! Then, of course, we would find better returns in the Lord's harvest among the heathen. We could share our joy in a substantial growth of congregations, schools, and catechumens.'

Francke took the financial side of the young mission into his trusted hands. Due to his personality and his devotion, as well as his connections and his publications, he was able to do more good in this situation than any other. Francke introduced voluntary mission collections, without any special organization, by mission lectures, in the congregations, collection societies, mission boxes, house collections, and publicity agents, so that, as H. Frick thought, this stimulus to the work at home was 'historically more important for the Mission' than the successes in India although this may be questioned.

After the publication of the first letters in 1707, the first money came in, a good 448 Taler (Rs. 1,350). In this were also larger donations: two of 100 Taler, one of 60, and one of 20. Again and again large remittances went to Copenhagen and later

on via England, directly to India. Francke's share in collecting these regular mission gifts is to be valued the more highly, as he was also dependent on voluntary gifts for his constantly growing orphanage. Thus as he wrote to Copenhagen in 1714, that this interceding for the mission might be prejudicial to him and that those who formerly sent gifts to the orphanage now send them for the purpose of the Danish Mission. But he continued with this and thus rendered the first example of the normal relation between home and foreign mission work, determined by the understanding of the one task of the Church. Already at that time experience showed that no branch of the work of the Church need suffer, when the heart of the Gospel is preached and lived.

We can read about the many large and small gifts which came into Halle, in the prefaces of the reports. There one reads, who were the donors, what words and wishes and even poems were sent along, and from which localities in Germany and abroad (Russia, Italy, Sweden), they came.

Already at that time it was a custom, that many donors took the responsibility of maintaining an Indian child, after they had been informed how much this would cost per year per child.

The first mission collection in all the congregations of the established Church was made in 1715 in Wuerttemberg—soon followed by the Church of Sachsen-Meiningen. It was suggested by a letter of Ziegenbalg on 5th July, 1715. In preparation for this statewide collection, Senior Urlsperger prepared an appeal which was read from all the pulpits on the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity. This was the first time on the continent that any Church made an official appeal for mission work. It was a biblical appeal without any statistics.

For the Augustana Jubilee, by resolution of the Magistrates, a collection for the benefit of the Tranquebar Mission was made by means of special boxes. This collection was recommended to the congregations of the six Evangelical churches in a lively way. The collection amounted to 1,100 Taler in gold and was sent to India via England. After thanking God, Francke Jr. adds the petition, that God would reward the love of 'each and everyone, who has extended his hand liberally'. Still, two years later, he again wishes that 'God, who is not unjust, might generously reward the City of Augsburg, and especially all the benefactors found in it'. The six missionaries in Tranquebar also directed a letter of thanks to the city council of Augsburg on 15th October, 1731, for their generous collection of 11,000 Taler.

In 1733, we read in the reports also a letter of thanks from the city catechist Savarimuthu, to a benefactress, who had sent

Rs. 180 for the maintenance of a catechist. Among the helpers in Europe, last but not least, the friends in England must also be named and we will consider them in the next chapter in detail.

The missionaries themselves played a large part in arousing a love for the mission above all, by their living in distant India, by their letters and reports and finally by their presence in Europe. The latter was already considered necessary in 1709, due to the poor treatment of the Mission by the Commandant. But the trip home was refused by the Danish Commandent. Ziegenbalg would not have liked to travel anyway, because he did not want to leave his congregation for so long. An unprinted letter adds that nevertheless there were eight reasons in favour of the voyage. Ziegenbalg would (1) on the voyage continue with his Bible translation; (2) urge the establishment of a Tamil printing press; (3) render a formal report to the King; (4) submit proposals for removal of obstacles; (5) obtain several needed privileges; (6) negotiate about the proper preparation of future missionaries and their ordination in India, and obtain the right to ordain Indians; (7) set up contacts in Denmark and Germany for continued help; and (8) on the voyage back work again on the Bible translation.

Although Ziegenbalg did not go, later on official journeys were made. Pluetschau sailed on 15th September, 1711, in an English ship from Madras. He took the Indian boy Timotheus with him. The departure happened in secret haste and exasperated the Commandant. The voyage cost a lot, 222 Taler and he was to remain in Europe and further the work. He had the opportunity to render the King a report in a personal audience lasting half an hour. Also in England he was well received and honestly did what he could, but nothing decisive was accomplished through his visit.

The visit of Ziegenbalg in 1715 achieved better results. This is shown by the success of the collection in Wuerttemberg. The arrival and stimulus of a missionary was needed, in order to bring the first collection into being. At home nobody had thought of this idea of raising funds although the Danes required their congregations to pray for the work every Sunday. Why did Ziegenbalg return to Europe? 'Because all sorts of heavy obstacles still lay in the way, which could not be removed except in Europe.' The Tamil Christians weepingly begged him to stay with them. Soon they saw that the journey would be for the best and that Ziegenbalg intended to return, and yet at his farewell sermon a lamentation broke out. But Ziegenbalg

remained firm. He had Gruendler, with seven years' experience, as his trusted substitute.

About this trip and its results, we have his own report, which is very interesting. In Stralsund he reported to the King and also preached before him. The King was surprised that Ziegenbalg was determined to go back, and was impressed by his Tamil disciple, Peter Malaiappan, who made a short speech in German which is printed in the report of the trip. In Copenhagen Ziegenbalg addressed the congregation, conferred with the Board, and had the opportunity to report to the members of the Royal House. He went to many German cities as well as to England.

Ziegenbalg believed that his voyage had not been fruitless because satisfactory information had been given to those on whom the work depended. He had removed obstacles and had made proper arrangements for the progress of the work. By personal association and conversation, he had removed many prejudices and had brought about a better conception of the Mission. By intercourse with wise and intelligent people he strengthened his own purpose.

On 22nd October, 1714, by resolution of the Board, he was appointed as Provost by the King. This also was another fruit of the trip, ensuring orderly guidance of the Mission in India.

In Halle, there were changes in the administration in 1713. Father Francke was already overloaded with his work as Professor and as father of the orphanage, and he therefore delegated the care of the mission work to Magister Michaelis. He was to take care of the work and of the missionaries, and fulfil their wishes. Francke still remained the guiding head, but he now had two more hands. The missionaries were informed that whatever Michaelis wrote to them, they should consider as if Francke himself had written.

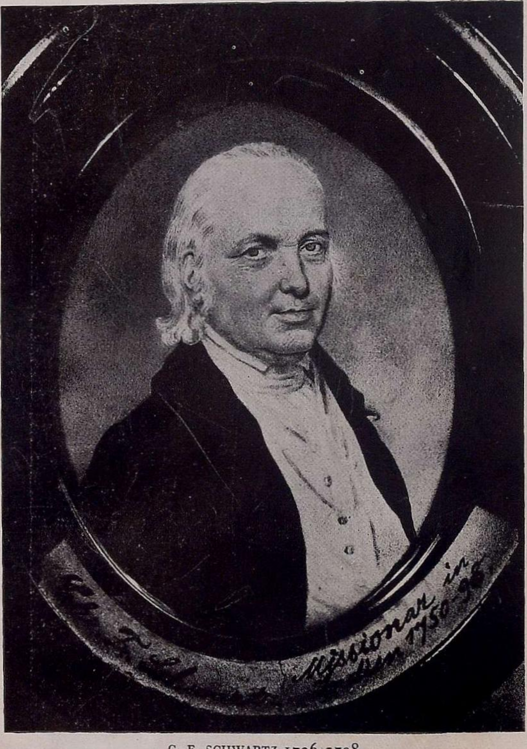
CHAPTER X

PRIORITIES AND FAR-REACHING EFFECTS

The Tranquebar Mission was the forerunner of the modern missionary movement. In this pioneer work everything was basically new and many things had to be thought through and decided for the first time. Much of this has already been pointed out, but perhaps we can summarize as follows :

1. The actual beginning of the Lutheran Mission took

S. AARON, FIRST INDIAN PASTOR, ORDAINED 1733



C. F. SCHWARTZ 1726-1798

place in India through the Danish-Halle Mission. According to the words of a contemporary professor in Prussia this was 'among the peculiar and most novel events of this century'.

2. To the important Tranquebar activities belong the Tamil translations of the Small Catechism, and of the Holy Scriptures and the Tamil hymn book. The Tamil Catechism was not the first translation into a native language, for the Swede Campanius had previously translated it into the language of the Delaware Indians in 1648, and it was printed in Stockholm in 1696. The Tamil Catechism was the first translation of Luther's Catechism into an Asian language.

3. The Mission emphasised the mother tongue, literary work in the field of languages and the science of religion.

4. The Tranquebar Mission had received its first impulse from a King, who, according to G. A. Francke's words, 'was the first who turned away from our Church the disgrace that it did not trouble itself about the conversion of the unbelieving nations'. The mission began in a colony and at first had the support of the Royal House. The work was supremely spiritual, without political guidance or force behind it.

5. The Tranquebar Mission offers the first impressive example of missionary and ecumenical cooperation. National borders were crossed, not only between Germany and Denmark, but soon we read also of Christians from Holland, England, Sweden, Italy, and even Petersburg, who took an active share in the Mission. Even America was not missing. The American correspondent was the professor and preacher, Cotton Mather. To a letter from Ziegenbalg, a reply came from Boston, on 31st of December, 1717, '.... in the Protestant Churches it is to be considered a great and grievous scandal which justly concerns one very closely, that so little, almost nothing, is done which might serve for the spreading of the Faith.... And certainly, where there are a few such who have shown themselves as men, you, the Malabar missionaries are ahead of all the others, which I say not to flatter you, but out of wonder over the grace of God which is with you.... The fame of your Mission and the zeal shown thereby has resounded from East India to the West Indies. What you have achieved through the grace of God in Asia to establish a Christian people among the Indians is accepted in America as good news from a distant land, and as cool water to those who suffer thirst, and is announced among the American Christians to the great priase of God.'

Gruendler also in 1715 applied himself to correspond with other nations in the affairs of the mission. He corresponded

with two English preachers in Madras and in Bengal, with the two Dutch preachers in Nagapatanam and in Colombo and similarly with several who were in the Government and in the council and with other persons.

The missionaries wished that all the nations of the whole protestant Church might be awakened to assist the work. They wrote 'certainly, all Christians should come together in this'. They also wrote to A. H. Francke that the whole Protestant Church among the different nations should seriously apply itself to this common work. For this reason the book about non-Christian religions was dedicated to the professors of theology at all Universities of the whole Protestant Church. They also wrote from Tranquebar to the Court Chaplain, Boehme, and to the Societas in Anglia de propaganda Christi cognitione (S.P.C.K). They also received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury and from the English King, granting the missionaries an audience.

The relations with England were initiated through the German chaplain, Wilhelm Boehme, who as a friend of Francke officiated in London at the Lutheran Court Chapel for Prince George of Denmark. He had taken care of editing the previously mentioned letters in English, which had gone to Cotton Mather in America. He dedicated them to Archbishop William of Canterbury, and the other members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The S.P.G. distributed the letters among the people and individual members made donations. But in spite of the participation of the Archbishop, the S.P.G. could do nothing for Tranquebar, for according to their charter they could only send 'orthodox clergy into the overseas plantations, colonies, and factories,' and none of these conditions covered the Lutherans in Tranquebar. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) took up the call for help. Their Secretary was the active Mr. Neuman, an admirer of Francke. They gave money, sent out a complete press with English letters, printing paper, Portuguese Christian books, paid for Ziegenbalg's second trip out with his wife and the freight for three to four tons of luggage. They also sent other things such as books for the English preachers in Madras and Bengal, portraits and such pictures as would encourage the Malabar youth in art.

The missionaries Ziegenbalg and Gruendler and also men from Halle became corresponding members of the S.P.C.K. and were assured further assistance through the Society. This assistance continued, and in 1728 the Lutheran Mission in Madras came completely under the care of the Society. Later

on, Cuddalore also was declared to be an English Mission. Francke was right when he called this 'striking early effort in international action' a model for posterity.

It has indeed been suspected that the motive for the English help was not disinterested. They could reckon on a return for their contribution in that 'the Church of England might some day bring the whole harvest into its own barns'. Of such a possibility, the missionaries and the leaders in Halle would hardly have thought. And without concrete evidence, any inquiry into the motives of the English at that time, must fail. What actually happened in the end seems to support the abovesaid suspicion. But who will say whether this was a fulfilment of their plan, or just something that happened? Nevertheless, the criticism that Tranquebar did not follow the reformed enumeration of the Ten Commandments was severe. Although the English were very strong about orthodox clergy, even later on demanding the reordination of German Lutherans, they suspected in Tranquebar sectarian Lutheranism. Archbishop Tenison informed his Society that he would advise his clergy 'in future not to take any interest in such a mission, which aimed at planting a sectarian Lutheranism'.

6. According to the saying 'in Copenhagen the head, in Halle the heart', the proposal to send a medical missionary to India came from Halle. This idea was put into practice and eventually five mission doctors went out to Tranquebar. The missionaries had reported about the diseases, the drugs, and the medical knowledge of the Tamilians. Gruendler had composed a *Malabar Medicus*. In the school they had appointed a Tamil doctor in 1712. Pressier's story of his journey to Tanjore, where Tamilians asked him if he knew anything about the art of medicine, made a deep impression, and he advised that future missionaries should 'learn something about the practice of medicine'. With the employment of doctors, the Church was not doing something new, for even in the ancient world, Christianity appeared as a religion of healing. These Halle doctors were the first missionary doctors and the Lutheran Church was the first to take this forward step.

Who were these pioneers? The first medical missionary was Caspar Gottlieb Schlegelmilch, born in Sagan in Silesia. He had been active as doctor in the orphanage and had gained experience in dispensing, practical medicine and also in surgery. In this he had won the confidence of Francke, Jr. In equipping him with a supply of medicines and the necessary instruments, they took the advice of Prof. Juncker, the Doctor-in-ordinary of the Medical

Faculty. A contract has been preserved which was signed and sealed on 28th December, 1729. It stipulates a term of three years of service for the mission workers. Schlegelmilch had to report to Halle his observations of natural history and physics in India. His salary was to be the same as that of the theologians, 200 Taler annually. The salary was paid from the mission treasury in Halle which also supplied the medicines.

On 12th January, 1730, the voyage out was begun via England. From February 23rd he and some of his companions ran into a storm lasting almost four days. On 12th July, 1730, he landed in Madras. Two weeks later, he travelled to Sadras, Cuddalore and Tranquebar, where he arrived on August 11th. He found a favourable reception, and even the King of Tanjore placed himself in his care. But a few days after his arrival he fell ill, and died on August 30th of dysentery. The next afternoon he was buried near the New Jerusalem Church. The funeral sermon was preached by Worm on the text: 'I am the Lord that healeth thee', and appeared in the Halle reports.

Within two years came a second medical missionary, on August 30th, Dr. Samuel Benjamin Knoll, from Oels in Silesia. He lived and worked till 1767. By January 1733, he wrote to Prof. Francke, Jr., that he had at his own expense fitted up a small laboratory to be able to prepare medicines from herbs if necessary, because with the many sick people, his supply of European medicines would not last for a year. He immediately requested a fresh shipment of medicines.

He sent home a catalogue of diseases encountered and specifications of the medicines he had prepared. Already at the beginning of his activity in 1733, he treated a Roman Catechist, Savarayan, who had persecuted the Protestants. He had tuberculosis and requested the services of the mission doctor. Thereby he learned to know those he had hated as his greatest benefactors in spiritual and bodily need, and on his death forbade any masses to be said for him. Their Roman opponent Beschi, however, directed a letter of thanks to the Lutherans and wished them much grace 'from our common Lord who promised mercy to the merciful'.

The missionaries had wished that the second doctor should be engaged for six years. About his salary of 200 Taler annually, they thought that it would be sufficient at the most 'for a single person, who has learnt at the University to accustom himself to the poverty of Christ, and accepted the principle that drinking water is not damaging to good health'. Knoll worked for over thirty years and was satisfied with his scanty income.

We read nothing about a marriage. He even left money behind, of which his successor was to have 100 Taler annually in addition to his salary. Unfortunately, he is supposed to have harmed the mission in his young years, because he lacked spiritual depth.

The third medical missionary was a failure: He was a Dane, Dr. Koenig. In choosing him, Francke Jr. relied on the judgment of the Danes. These esteemed him highly because he was a botanist. Dr. Koenig travelled out in 1768. On the way he lost his wife and married the widow of a Danish preacher. He was a botanical expert but knew less about the practice of medicine, least of all surgery. The missionaries complained: 'the circumstances of our doctor are depressing and trying'; for the doctor withdrew himself more and more from the Germans, never appeared in any church, did not even send greetings for the New Year and towards the last he wrote poisonous letters. In 1775, Koenig left the Mission service and entered the service of a Nabob, the one who conquered Tanjore.

The fourth doctor followed him on 6th June, 1777 for an almost fifteen year term. He was Dr. Johann David Martini, who had studied in Halle. He was an able man, who soon earned love and confidence. Int he European schools he taught natural history, Latin, and geometry.

Within eleven days after his death, the Board supplied a new doctor in Dr. Johann Gottfried Klein, who arrived early in Janury, 1792. He was the son of a missionary and had been born in Tranquebar. He had studied in Halle and Copenhagen. Dr. Klein was considered a very good man who helped the missionaries in the school by teaching natural history. He collected plants and gathered an important collection of birds and insects, which won him fellowships in several scientific societies. This was typical of the inner decline of the mission whereby spiritual matters became less important and natural science was emphasised. Nevertheless, he is given credit for introducing vaccination during an epidemic of smallpox in 1803, and also instructed the Tamil Catechists so that they could carry out vaccinations.

7. The Tranquebar Mission can also take the credit of being the first to set up a printing press of the Evangelical Church in all India.

But the Tranquebar press was as the word 'Evangelical' above is supposed to show, not the first mission press, and also not the first Tamil press in India. This honour belongs to the Jesuits. Professor von Glasenapp says that a Jeusuit set up a press in Goa in 1556, while the T. N. Siqueira writes that the

first printing press in India was set up in Ambalacat near Cochin in 1577 by a Jesuit. The Jesuits also opened the first Tamil printing press in India. In 1660, when Peter Hyacinthe travelled to Rome, he had instructions from his superiors to acquire a Tamil press. And indeed one was set up in Ambalacat, in which also the Tamil works of Robert de Nobili were printed, but certainly not before 1673. The very first Tamil printing was done by Protestants about 1671 in Europe, by Joan Borstius in Rotterdam.

We are here concerned with the 'Latin Printing Press' donated by the English Society in 1711. It came to Madras via Brazil, and was entrusted to Gruendler in August 1712, after two Englishmen had given security for the £150 sterling which was to be paid. In October 1712 they were able to begin printing in Tranquebar and on 5th January, 1713, they sent copies of the first four printed articles to Francke, Pluetschau, and to England. One of these was a calendar for the year 1713, which was sent all over India, and made the printing press better known 'here and among other nations'. Like the Halle medicines, so the printing press, was abused by the Europeans. 'The mission,' they said, 'was a gang of all kinds of sects, who printed false doctrine, even without the King's license'.

Much more important was the Tamil press, a present of the German friends, which arrived in Tranquebar in 1713. The ship came without stopping anywhere and arrived in Madras in seventeen weeks and reached Tranquebar on September 16th. The gratitude of the missionaries was great; a specimen copy of the Confession of Faith, printed in Tamil at Halle was included. Within two weeks printing began and on October 10th, the first printed page and on November 16th, the first two Tamil booklets were sent to Francke.

Many of the Tamil letters produced in Halle were not accurate enough, while some letters were missing. Soon a foundry was ready to cast new and better type. Paper and printing ink they planned to manufacture themselves. They made plans for a paper mill, although they had neither the money nor the necessary site. As the Commandant was interested in the paper mill, and hoped for a profit from it, he took a half share in the project. A plot of waste land 'behind Porayar near our Bethlehem-gardens' was bought. There the cornerstone was laid on 13th January, 1716. They reported in detail about the building costs, the personnel, the material, and their successes, as well as about the site bought for the printing press.

8. The schools of the Mission are worthy of special mention.

The importance of work with youth was immediately realized. It was Francke's disciples who opened the first Evangelical schools in India: the Portuguese and the Danish ones on November 21st, 1707 and the Tamil one on December 28th. In the Spring of 1715 a Tamil 'free-charity school' was opened.

A report of December 28th, 1707, already mentions a girls' school. This was the first Christian school for Indian girls in South India, if not in all of India as far as we know. The housemother was a widow and, like the girls in the Portuguese school, the Tamil girls were also instructed in sewing and housekeeping. In September 1712, the girls' school had 'ten children, some of whom have a fine intelligence'. It is also important to mention that on 23rd October, 1716, the first seminary with eight Malabar boys began in Tranquebar. They were to become Catechists, teachers, and the 'most experienced to be ordained preachers'.

9. The Halle Reports are also unique. They formed the first mission magazine in the German language and indeed the first protestant missionary magazine in the world! Francke began to publish them in 1710.

10. The Tranquebar Mission was benefited by the contribution of women. The wives of the missionaries voluntarily served the mission cause. Several letters of the first mission wives, witnessing to their zeal, have been preserved in the archives of the Francke institution.

11. Several other significant and far-reaching results of the Tranquebar Mission should be noted.

Through the reports of Ziegenbalg and Boevingh about their contact with the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope, mission work at that place came into being. Two clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church of Amsterdam, van Alphen and de Bruin, were moved by this and applied to Zinzendorf at Herrnhut. So it came to the first sending of a missionary to South Africa and George Schmidt landed there on 9th July, 1737.

Also in the family of John Wesley, the Tranquebar Mission had its effect. Wesley's mother read the letters of the missionaries. Through this she was moved to give weekly missionary instruction to her children. It is reported that once after a reading of the Tranquebar reports she 'could think or speak of little else'.

We know that other missionaries were influenced through Tranquebar. Christian Friederich Schwartz, became interested through the invitation to help Schultze in the new printing of the Tamil Bible in Halle. Gruendler, Henry Martyn, and W. T. Ringeltaube were inspired by the Halle Reports and the

personality of Gericke. Perhaps the Italian Jesuit Beschi, who landed in India in 1710, was influenced by the Tranquebar reports though according to Catholic information, it was the example of De Nobili, which decided the course of his efforts. Bishop Stephen Neill emphatically points out that the first efforts of the Lutherans reacted on William Carey's methods and success. Even his remaining in Serampore goes back indirectly to Tranquebar. The Danish Governor of Serampore, Colonel Bie, a good friend of Schwartz, intervened favourably for the missionaries and refused to accede to the demands of Lord Wellesley of Calcutta for their extradition.

Especially worth knowing is the direct influence on Count Zinzendorf, and thus on the mission work of the Herrnhuter. It is not a fact that Zinzendorf first translated the missionary ideas of the Lutherans into deeds and that the Lutheran Church is a disciple of Herrunhut. The opposite is the case. In the house of his grandmother, at the castle in Grosshennersdorf in Saxony, who received the Halle Reports, and kept in touch with Halle, he had already heard of the Tranquebar mission when he was a child. He himself relates : 'I know the day and the hour and the place in Hennesdorf in the large room when I first heard the news from East India before publication of the Reports. Then the first desire arose within me'. From 1710 to 1716, he studied under Francke in Halle : 'The daily custom in the house of Prof. Francke to hear edifying news about the Kingdom of Christ, converse with witnesses from many lands, meet Missionaries.... has strengthened mightily in me the zeal for the cause of the Lord'. In November 1713, he met Pluetschau and his convert there : 'Sometime ago Mr. Pluetschau arrived here, a missionary from Tranquebar, with Timotheus, a converted youth from Malabar, and was able to remain here a long time'. Zinzendorf begged his grandmother for some money for the Tamilian. In Autumn of 1715, he had the adventure of meeting Ziegenbalg and his Tamil companion. Zinzendorf's friend Wattewille correctly gives the year 1715 as the time when his mission idea was born. Zinzendorf himself said in 1753 : 'If there had been no Indian Mission Reports, we would not have gone to convert. But when we saw that among us there were Germans who proclaimed the Gospel and that it is accepted, then we thought, what the brethren in the faith can do, we can also do. We were led to this, not by the Bible, nor out of the descriptions of travels nor through the ambiguous Reports, as they came to the Societies through the English mail, but the first apostles, Pluetschau, Ziegenbalg, and Gruendler, led us to this. We saw them,

conversed with them, and sat at one table with them almost for a year, where they explained the cause of the mission '.

Indirectly through England and Herrnhut and through the Halle Reports, the Basel Mission came into being. Jaenicke's mission school in Berlin had as its founder the brother of a Danish-Halle missionary. The significance of the Tranquebar Mission for the Leipzig Mission is known. They looked to the ' same classic foundation '!

PART II

BUILDING

CHAPTER XI

THE MISSIONARY PIONEERS

In their modesty, the missionaries Ziegenbalg and Gruendler had written home on 15th November, 1713: 'Concerning our mission, so far it has been an attempt, and has had obstacles on all sides. Nevertheless, it has not been without blessing, but has won a better entrance than we or others could have wished.' In this still unprinted letter they give us a valuable account of their method of working: 'First we co-workers try to live in such a state, that God may work through us and use us in this work as his instruments. Secondly, because conversion is a pure work of God, in which everything depends on the power, presence, and blessing of the living God, we make prayer one of our most important tasks. Thirdly, we teach everything in the local language and present the Word of God richly in its purity. Fourthly, we try to establish charity-schools for youth, and in these young minds deeply plant the true Christian doctrine, and make such individuals out of them as later can be used profitably for work in the church and in schools. Fifthly, we attempt through such a school and by the establishment of the printing press to introduce books and try to scatter the Word of God richly and make it heard especially among those who join the Christian religion; and have them read, understand, and practise it. Sixthly, we pay special attention in the daily instruction to catechisation. We have several catechists who go from house to house and catechise our people according to the method which they daily hear us use. Seventhly, we are not satisfied merely with an outer acceptance of the Christian religion, but press for a real change of heart and an implicit obedience of faith, and we look not so much for large numbers but that all who accept our religion should attain a living knowledge of the truth unto godliness and be brought to the true way of Christianity. Eighthly, we establish all kinds of

good institutions which we consider necessary and useful to attain our aim. Ninthly, we employ the necessary assistance of co-workers who follow our orders, and at the weekly conferences they must give us a report of what they have done. We then instruct them how they can continue their work effectively. Tenthly, we suffer for the Gospel and do not permit ourselves to be disturbed in our work through many tribulations, nor consider everything lost when we are tested and see how in this and that we cannot immediately reach our aim. From this one can deduce, in what manner and way we are accustomed to carry on this kind of work.'

The greatest among pioneers was the first Provost, Ziegenbalg. It was 'the greatest and most grievous trial of all', that this man died so early in life on February 23rd, 1719. He left behind a young wife with two small sons. Ten weeks later the youngest boy died. After five months Ziegenbalg's widow gave birth to a third son who also died in Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg's widow then married the Danish Counsellor Lygaard, and later on settled down with him and Ziegenbalg's first-born in Copenhagen.

As the cause of death, Ziegenbalg's old trouble, *malum hypochondriacum*, is mentioned, along with acute pains in the body and violent coughing. When he decided that there was no hope for improvement, he put everything into good order on February 10th. The treasury, the deeds, and direction of the mission were entrusted to Gruendler. All family matters were put in order. Then he took leave of the Indian Christians. He admonished them to stand firm in faith. When he received Holy Communion, it seemed as if there was again hope for recovery. On the day of his death, he rose up early and joined his wife in the morning devotion. But at nine o'clock he knew the end was near. Gruendler prayed with him. Ziegenbalg longed to depart. 'May He cleanse me of my sins with His blood, and clothe me with the righteousness of Christ to go from this earth into His Kingdom.' Soon he said: 'I cannot speak any more. God bless what I have said.' He indicated a wish that they play for him on the piano and sing the hymn, 'Jesus, meine Zuversicht' (Jesus, my hope). Then he wished to leave his bed and he died shortly afterwards in his armchair. Thus he died in Tranquebar. It was in Tranquebar also that he was laid to rest on February 24th, in front of the altar of his Jerusalem Church. Gruendler delivered the funeral sermon on John 3, 29-30. Since July, 1721, there is an epitaph on the side of the altar on a copper plate:

In spe
futurae Rasurrectionis
sub hoc tumulo quiescunt ossa
Beati
BARTEOLOMANI
ZIEGENBALGII,
S. Regias Majestatis Daniae u. Norw.
primi and Demulos clim
Missionarii Ecclesiae Evangelicae
ex *Iisdem* collectae Praepositi,
Nati d. 24. Jan. 1683
Denati d. 23. Februar. 1719.

In 1719, the total number of the living Christians in the Tamil and the Portuguese congregation comprised 250 souls. This was already a good number, for an 'attempt'. Actually a total of 450 persons had been gathered. Of these many had died, some had moved away, and many unfortunately relapsed into their former faith or joined the Roman Catholic congregation. From the old church record it is apparent that from 1706 to 1719, altogether about 250 Tamilians were gained. Of these about 140 were sudras, and the others were pariahs.

After Ziegenbalg, fifty-four missionaries took part in this work. To list them all by name is hardly necessary or possible here. Anyone interested may find a list of names and dates in Fenger's history, and their letters in the Halle Reports. It is enough here to pick out the outstanding personalities. Under Francke ten missionaries were sent out,—nine Germans, and the Dane, Dal, a native of Danish Schleswig, who up to his thirteenth year knew only the Danish language, but later studied at German universities in Sena and Halle. After Francke's death, forty-four more missionaries set out for India: thirty-eight Germans, five Danes, and one Swede.

It is understandable that with the theological and administrative influence of Halle, more German candidates were enrolled. But it is much more important to learn the fundamental attitude of Francke and of his son. It was the intention at Halle not to let the Tranquebar Mission become a colonial mission. They earnestly strove to make the mission a mission of the Church. What had happened in the Dutch Colonial Mission of the 17th Century, Halle would under no circumstances permit to be repeated. On 2nd December, 1714, Francke opposed Copenhagen in their idea that one might seek the glory of the nation instead of 'solely furthering the work of God'. Gladly would he see

'honest individuals of the Danish nation' work in the mission, but he adds: 'But to tie the matter definitely to one nation, and on that account reject more capable candidates, cannot be justified, and God could hardly give His blessing thereto if one sought only the selfish, national honour; much rather might this, if one persisted in it, bring about the ruin of the whole cause'. He wrote to the missionaries that if there were good Danish candidates, he would prefer that Copenhagen send them out. Both the Franckes were really concerned about the spiritual approach. They did not want a nationalist motive.

Francke Jr. was most indignant, when in 1741, Copenhagen sent the Dane, Ole Maderup, to India without consulting Halle. According to Danish judgment Francke Jr. was 'very affected', and made this noticeable even in his relation to Copenhagen. It is striking that Francke Jr. had the Danish missionary Dal on his side in this matter. Dal wrote that of course there was no objection to pious and gifted Danes, but he also pointed out that from the beginning there were German missionaries in Tranquebar and that these had the support of the congregations in Germany and England. German was used also in the correspondence at home and on the field. Dal then shrewdly comments: 'If the missionary is a born Dane, he can easily be led astray to worldly society, so that one might set up the paradox: in English places the missionaries should not be English, in Dutch places they should not be Dutch, nor in Danish places Danish'.

Undoubtedly it was also a good thing in Tranquebar that the Missionaries were not representatives of the colonial power. Also in the territories ruled by the British or under the administration of Indian princes, the Germans could expect easier access than those who belonged to a colonial power. The names of the principal stations testify to this. Besides Tranquebar and Porayar, we have Cuddalore, Madras, Tanjore, and Tiruchi.

Now it must be stated that, correct as this principle was and is, it did not guarantee the quality of the missionaries. Not all the German missionaries were good missionaries. There were failures and undesirable figures. In the eyes of the young Francke, Benjamin Schultze was a doubtful missionary, not to mention some of the others. But in the long line of Ziegenbalg's successors, there were many highly gifted, devoted and capable missionaries.

Much thought was given to the character and training of the missionaries. Already the court chaplain Boehme had in 1709, in the English edition of the letters, put in a treatise of thirty-

six pages about the characteristics required of a missionary. Unfortunately these were not taken seriously. Similarly the explanations of Rev. Stephenson of Madras in 1721 and also the first thoughts of the Dutch Reformed in the year 1618 deserved to be remembered. No small wisdom is to be found in Francke's *Random Thoughts* and later on in Karl Graul. The first missionaries themselves wanted young people, whom they might instruct in a seminary on the field and impart to them their own experiences, especially the language study. These young men were to have 'not only erudition and an intelligence for learning languages, but stand in true repentance and rebirth, given to unpretended piety of the heart and have the wisdom to deal cleverly with the many types of people, at the same time living in a true renunciation of the world and of their own selves. When they do not all stand in one spirit, but some let themselves be driven by the spirit of the world, then strife, quarrels, and disunity result. These domestic obstacles cause great damage. Therefore we daily implore God that this work may graciously be spared such people.'

We find such petitions repeated in many unprinted letters. They also requested that the student missionaries be directed to them as their seniors and guides in their written instructions. They wrote home about this in 1710, without getting a resolution from the home authorities, which they regretted.

Only in the year 1718 did it come to a sending out of unordained missionary candidates: B. Schultze, N. Dal, and B. Kistenmacher. This first attempt was almost a failure for when they arrived in Tranquebar on 16th September, 1719, Ziegenbalg was already dead. Only Gruendler remained—and he was a sick man. In his illness and loneliness he had heartily prayed to God not to let the work be orphaned but to let him live long enough, till the long expected co-workers and successors arrived. This joy he lived to experience. He was able to lead the young brethren into the language and into the methods of the work. Above all, he was still able to ordain B. Schultze on 31st January, 1720, before he had to lay down the shepherd's staff—otherwise the mission would have remained without an ordained ministry.

On 19th March, Ernest Gruendler died. The next day he was buried beside Ziegenbalg in the church. This 'very worthy and most active missionary and Pastor of the Tamil congregation of Christ', also had a memorial tablet to his honour, like Ziegenbalg. He died before his nomination as mission superintendent could reach him.

Gruendler was born on 7th April, 1677, and thus was a few

years older than Ziegenbalg. After he had studied in Leipzig and Wittenberg and gained his Master's degree, he came to Halle in 1701. There he was converted by a sermon on true and false humility, and became a teacher in Francke's institution. He was aroused by the Tranquebar reports and had a desire 'to help in the conversion of the Indians'. If it was not possible to send him out, he would find the money himself for his travel expenses! He informed others about his determination to work as a missionary and begged to be remembered if ever they should again need a missionary. When Dr. Luetkens requested another missionary the following year, Gruendler was asked and he was still ready. On 31st October, 1708, he was ordained in Copenhagen and began the journey on November 17th, 1709, with P. Jordan and G. Boevingh. Gruendler was so filled with joy when the Tamil Christians met him that tears of happiness filled his eyes.

Gruendler was a good missionary in all matters including the difficulties with Boevingh. Ziegenbalg trusted him completely.

Gruendler learned Portuguese and Tamil. In his letter of 24th September, 1709, he showed his determination to remain in India not just for a long time, but for his whole life. 'Do not make any plans about my return, because my dear colleague, the honourable superintendent Ziegenbalg and I have permanently decided to devote our life to the service of the mission here in India, and after that eventually to appear with our dusky lambs before the Throne of the Lamb.'

In order to concentrate wholly on Tamil and to have only Indians about him, he moved to near-by Porayar in 1710. There he ate and dressed just like a Tamilian. In the school there he loved to conduct catechism classes and on 17th December, 1710, experienced the happiness of baptizing his first convert a lad of fourteen, in whom 'the good Word of God' had worked great things.

In Tranquebar he was manager of the Portuguese school and helped to serve the Tamil congregation. He travelled and scattered the seed of the Word richly. When Ziegenbalg was in Europe, the work and the direction of the mission rested wholly on him. It was he who made the preparations for the building of the Jerusalem church, as has been mentioned previously. Gruendler took care of printing the books, getting paper and casting new type. In 1715, he opened another new school. He made this known by pasting up Tamil placards on the walls, and soon this school became so popular that there were seventy pupils, instructed by three teachers in two rooms.

From six in the morning until seven at night, the children were in the care and under the influence of the mission. Naturally he felt the need for money. Once he had to tell his teachers and pupils: 'unless you want to starve, you must pray to the good God to send you bread, because I have no money'. Help came in the form of a loan.

Gruendler spent much time on correspondence with the English preachers in Madras and Bengal, with the Dutch in Nagapatanam and Colombo and with many private persons. Thus he served the work and showed his wide interests. The Tranquebar men were not narrow.

He translated into Portuguese a short extract out of Spener's Frankfurt Catechism, and in his Tamil reading he specialized in medical works and translated the best into German. In 1711 he sent to Germany his '*The Malabar Medicus*, a short account of the medical principles of these heathen, and also of the treatment and drugs with which they cure diseases. Compiled for the medical men of Europe, for their use and information from the medical literature of the Malabarees, and translated by I.E.G. with an introduction in which a Sciagraphia Medica of a Brahmen shows the order in which they treat the study of medicine in their schools.'

Gruendler was faithful to the end. Although weak in body, on 10 February, 1720, he undertook a missionary journey to Cuddalore. When he arrived there he fell ill and had to return overland. No medicine was effective. In spite of exhaustion, he once more conducted the Tamil Liturgy on March 15th, and blessed his congregation. On March 19th at 4 o'clock in the afternoon he died.

Amid a large gathering of the Malabar and Portuguese congregations, as well as all the Europeans living in Tranquebar, Benjamin Schultze preached the funeral sermon on John 14: 13 in the German language. On the following Sunday he repeated it in both the other languages.

When Gruendler died, there were only three young beginners left in Tranquebar. They had hardly been there for six months. Already many feared that this might mean the end of the new mission work. So effective were these rumours that many friends of the cause held back their donations.

But the work continued. Progress was due to Schultze who remained in India from 1719-1743 and died in Halle in 1760. He was the author of the many marginal notes in the Halle Reports. Although he did not have the stature of Ziegenbalg, he was a very gifted worker. Perhaps he was of a restless nature

and inclined to have his own way. The people who surrounded him and the work helped to form his character. Among his colleagues, he became the leader. Kistenmacher, who was sickly, died on 16 February, 1722. Dal was deliberate and slow moving, and not gifted in learning the language. Compared with Schultze, he could only play second fiddle. Therefore it is not surprising that Gruendler recognized Schultze as the future leader of the work. So he ordained him, whereas Dal was ordained only ten years later.

How Schultze grew into the work and into the languages is shown in a 'Daily Register' of 1719-1725. We find a list of the publications printed in those five years in Tranquebar. Twenty titles were listed which were published in Portuguese, Danish and Tamil. Especially noteworthy were a history of the Passion, a Thorough Instruction in Holy Communion, the Danish book of Communion, a second edition of the Tamil Hymn book with forty-eight hymns entitled *Hymnorum liber Damulice*, 1721, the enlarged Tamil Hymnbook with 160 spiritual hymns, '*Hymnologia Damulica*, 1723', *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis in Portuguese and the funeral sermons for Ziegenbalg and Gruendler.

Much time had to be spent on the printing press, and the schools as well as the pastoral care of the congregation. Although this was not a period of great deeds, and most of the work consisted in maintaining what had been built, yet every year a small number of newly baptized Christians was added to the congregations: 31 in 1720, 18 in 1721, 15 in 1723, 28 in 1724, and 23 in 1725. In 1726 they counted 176 members in the Tamil and 150 in the Portuguese congregations.

Although only two missionaries were left when Kistenmacher died on 16th February, 1722, and was laid to rest in a cemetery near Ziegenbalg's son, one would like to hear again of preaching to the non-Christians and going into the villages. In September, 1722, Schultze wrote that the Catechists and the school children had once more gone out to the villages, which had been a permanent practice in Ziegenbalg's time. Only on November 26th did Schulize go 'to Tilliadi among the heathen' and 'in the villages near the city' to conduct four catechism lessons. On November 2nd rain prevented them from going, but two days later they again went out. Schultze wrote in a diary: 'From this time I have continued faithfully with these trips except when weather, inconvenience, or pressing business occasionally kept us away.' We read that on 25th November, 1722, they went 'with the Malabar school for the first time into the territory

of the King of Tanjore'. When he publicly catechized in Anandamandalam, as this was something new, many people came.

His translations were premature and too profuse. Thus already in 1723, we have the Tamil Hymnbook mentioned above. The existing forty-eight hymns were not sufficient for Schultze. Especially on festivals it was difficult to find fitting hymns for two or three services. If someone had told him to do translation work, he would have certainly answered 'impossible'. But one evening in May 1722 he was singing a hymn and felt sorry for the school children who did not have this hymn in their language. He was overcome with the desire to translate it and that night he worked until two o'clock and translated the whole hymn. The diary shows how rapidly production increased. On many days he produced two hymns. As soon as four or five hymns were translated Schultze had them printed on a half sheet of paper so that the children could learn them. By the beginning of 1723, already 112 hymns were ready and appeared with the original forty-eight hymns in the enlarged hymnbook. Schultze meant well, but, in the present hymnbook of the Tamil Church not a single one of Schultze's translations remain. After him came a greater translator, Fabricius, whose hymns are still sung today.

Hardly was the hymnbook finished, when the Passion History was completed to which he quickly added the story of the Resurrection and Ascension. No time was lost in getting it printed. In nine days he had the booklet in the hands of the worshippers at the Lenten Services.

Was it a sign of his 'immoderate craze for translation' which made a beginner translate three psalms with the help of an interpreter and immediately print them? On 18th March, 1723, he thought about continuing the Bible translation begun by Ziegenbalg, but it would have been better if he had spent more time reading Tamil books and poetry, and learned 'ever more and more poetical Malabar'. But Schultze thought that this would benefit only himself instead of his readers. Therefore he wanted to 'take up a more useful and necessary work'. Nothing could be more useful and necessary than to give a growing church the whole Bible. He took pleasure in this work and assured his readers that he had not gone about this great work lightly. Where Ziegenbalg had stopped at the book of Ruth he continued. At his side sat a writer, before him he had the Hebrew text, different versions, and other needed helps. On 24th November, 1725, at 9 o'clock he finished the

translation. Then he checked it all over word for word according to the original text, and made many improvements.

From a list of all the works printed between 1712 and 1731 we discover that in September 1728 the whole Bible and the Apocrypha were printed. It is hard to say whether Schultze neglected his other duties because of this translation work. It is certain that he began too soon and that he worked too fast. His Bible translation met the same fate as his hymns. It was superseded by that of the great Fabricius. When Fabricius came to Tranquebar in 1740, he found a regular language battle going on. This was due to the opposition which had developed among the missionaries against the existing translation. Walther, who was gifted at languages, had found many errors. Schultze was unhappy about this and even decided to leave Tranquebar. His translation was then printed with the corrections added by his colleagues. When it came to a revision they really tackled it in earnest, without even asking Schultze. Fabricius then arranged a compromise, in which the common work on the text was regulated and fixed. If all could not agree to changes, then the old text was allowed to stand.

In the year 1725, a special event took place. The Danish Governor, as we read in a diary of 16th March, 1725, issued a proclamation that all parents should send their children to school. Instead of five schools they suddenly had twenty-one, with 575 children and many Hindu teachers. There could be no thought of direct Christian teaching. Instead of direct Christian teaching from Bible passages, they taught general proverbs, in which 'God' and 'the Supreme Being' occurred, but nothing that a non-Christian could not say. Of these proverbs twenty have been preserved.

On June 19, 1725, Schultze experienced 'a blessed day of joy', when unexpectedly an English ship brought three new missionaries—the first after five years. They were Theodore Walther, Friedrich Pressier, and Martin Bosse. The latter took to drink and became a disgrace to the mission, but unfortunately did not leave India until 1749. The journey of 14,496 miles lasted seventeen weeks and five days. We have a strikingly detailed diary of the trip which is very interesting to read even from a non-missionary viewpoint. The news about the arrival of the new padres spread rapidly. When the missionaries stepped on Indian soil at 6 o'clock, several hundred people had already assembled on the beach, and accompanied them on the half hour walk to the city, first to the Governor and the Councillors and then to the mission house. How much circumstances

have changed can be seen from the fact that missionaries were invited by the Governor to breakfast and a noon meal. He presented the young men with material for clothing.

Schultze helped his colleagues with language study. Unfortunately harmony between him and the others ceased and he was not able to get along with Dal. Schultze considered himself to be the superintendent though this was not the case.

Consequently, Schultze left Tranquebar to begin work at a different place according to the intention of the home authorities. On Sexagesima Sunday of 1726, he took leave of the Tamil congregation and set out for Madras. There the arrival of his colleagues Anton Sartorius and Ernst Geister in 1730 and 1732 caused unrest. Schultze was very capable and gifted, but he was headstrong and an individualist, and not a team worker.

Schultze there continued his translation work. He translated the whole Bible into 'warngie Telugu'. How quickly he worked, book after book! Into the same language he translated also Arndt's four books *Of True Christianity* and his *Little Paradise Garden*, also Luther's Small and large Catechisms, *The Plan of Salvation*, *One Hundred Rules of Living* and *A Conversation with Christ*. Then he prepared anout line of a Telugu Grammar. Next he also learned Hindustani and translated into this language the New Testament, the Psalms of David, Daniel, and the first four chapters of Genesis. He also produced a Hindustani Grammar. And he translated into Tamil as well as the above *Of True Christianity* and *Little Paardise Garden*. The Tamil and some Telugu books were printed in Germany, under his supervision in the Canstein Bible Institute. The necessary Tamil and Telugu letters had to be specially cut and cast for this. The Hindustani Grammar was also printed there in Roman Script, also Matthew's Gospel, Daniel, and the first book of the Psalms. We also do not know the effect of these writings and how far they spread, but such zeal and energy were praiseworthy.

After Schultze left, there followed in Tranquebar a period of consolidation, one of the best periods. The capable missionaries, Dal, Pressier, and Walther were united and did much good work. They gave up seven of the new schools, because they wanted quality rather than quantity, and did not strive for large numbers of pupils. They lacked Christian teachers and did not want non-Christian instructors to teach Bible passages.

With Ziegenbalg they considered the instruction of catechumens one of their chief tasks. They travelled, preached,

and took care of individual souls. From home came demands to report about the 'many real workings of Grace', both within and without the congregation. At home they wanted reports of success. But the missionaries were not misled into parading statistics. They wrote only about 'tiny grains', which they had been able to find.

Besides the Gospel work, they rendered also valuable services which gave the mission a reputation for scholarship. Thus they made a collection of idiomatic expressions in a *Phrase-book*. In this Pressier had the chief share, and he also left behind him all sorts of manuscripts on theology and evangelism. Their common letters home sent a wealth of information including notes on Indian astronomy, Muslim customs, language, and much interesting material about Indian birds.

The outstanding missionary of that time was Ernst Walther. In his solid way he worked on the revision of the Bible and continued with the lexicon. In 1735 he finished and printed a Church history in Tamil, with a Latin title almost ten lines long. He was also the author of a long conversation between a Christian and a Muslim—an early evidence that the missionaries did not overlook the adherents of Islam, but studied their religion and books. On 16th October, 1739, the diary records that Walther's *Observationes Grammaticae* appeared as an appendix to Beschi's grammar. Beschi himself was not very happy about this, but his Bishop, Don Joseph Pinheiro (1726-1744) of Madras, was lifted 'up to heaven' according to a letter of missionary Obuch. Unfortunately a Sanskrit Grammar written by Walther was not printed because of 'the large awkward letters' and the lack of paper.

On 21st December, 1728, Walther married the Danish maiden Anna Christina Brochmann. He later buried his 'most dear, most loyal, chaste, hard-working, and virtuous wife' and five children all in Tranquebar. Because of great physical infirmity, he himself wanted to return home in 1735, but although Copenhagen consented, Francke Jr. wanted him to remain in India. Otherwise his last two children probably would not have died in 1738. Francke persuaded Walther to stay another four years. But in October 1739, he had to return home. From his diary we see that he instructed 17 slaves on the ship, and on January 6th he baptised them on the deck in the presence of the ship's congregation. When they came to the Cape of Good Hope, 'a large number of the inhabitants belonging to the Augsburg Confession' requested the Danish chaplains to preach, 'give absolution and the Holy Sacrament', which had not been

administered for three years. Therefore Walther officiated on the 4th and 5th Sundays after Epiphany, 1740, 'in a large hall before a very numerous congregation'. In the afternoons he attended the Dutch service.

On the 29th April, 1741, like most of the missionaries, this faithful worker died at a comparatively early age. This took place while he was visiting Dresden. On April 24th, he visited the highly-learned and pious Superintendent Doctor Loescher, who in his early years had doubted the orthodoxy of the first missionaries.

For our ecumenically minded times, it is worthwhile to see how at his death he truly prayed ecumenically. He knew the nature and the task of the Church, and therefore even in his last prayers he was filled with the breadth of the Church. The Rector of the Holy Cross School in Dresden, Christian Schoettgen gives us a report of this. The dying missionary was busy with his care of the Church of Jesus Christ until the end. He prayed for the mission in India and the Board, and then his thoughts went to Churches in Denmark, Sweden, England, Germany, and in Prussia. He thought about the friends and Christians in many cities, even in Leyden, the Cape, and Madras. Also he mentioned the Churches suffering persecution in Hungary and Silesia, and heartily prayed that God would let His light break forth. . . .also in France, Spain, and Portugal.

He had hoped to be buried in India but he was laid to rest in the old Elias Cemetery in Dresden. Though he had wished for a simple funeral, a large crowd gathered when his body lay in state in the assembly room of the famous Holy Cross School on 1st May, 1741. Sixteen magistrates and students followed the coffin. The Chief Court Chaplain, Dr. Marperger, rode in one of the coaches.

During Walther's term of office the first Tamil Pastor was ordained. Probably Walther did not ordain him, but at any rate he was a witness of this great occasion on 20th December, 1733. While he was in India, the number of Christians in Tranquebar rose from 280 in 1725 to 1,321, and with the Christians in the villages, the number in 1739 totalled, 3,766. We should also add the number of believers who had already departed. For thirty years this was a noteworthy success. On 5th October, 1738, the missionaries brought out a *Short Report of the Present Condition of the Royal Danish Mission carried on here in Tranquebar*. In this it is stated: 'Since the origin of the mission we count 4,609 souls, of whom 3,186 are living.' If we compare these figures with the totals of the following list, it becomes evident

that the number of congregation members rapidly increased in the years 1730-8.

The following statistical table of 1732 informs us of the growth of the congregations between 1707 and 1730:

Year	Portuguese	Tamil	Total
1707	16	19	35
1708	30	27	57
1709	4	13	17
1710	23	30	53
1711	4	15	19
1712	8	13	21
1713	16	9	25
1714	23	18	41
1715	13	8	21
1716	8	2	10
1717	14	21	35
1718	17	16	33
1719	22	39	61
1720	18	26	44
1721	12	6	18
1722	5	9	14
1723	18	5	23
1724	6	15	21
1725	23	11	34
1726	24	25	49
1727	50	77	127
1728	20	245	265
1729	17	265	282
1730	39	257	296
	430	1171	1601

In the year 1744, the Tranquebar congregation already counted 1,640 souls and in the six districts of the country congregations, 2,830. The missionaries did not let themselves get intoxicated with these figures. Like their predecessors, they complained that with the growth of the congregations many weeds appeared in the mission field, which gave them much trouble and difficulty and drove them to greater seriousness and fervent prayer. They do not gloss over anything, as one reads in a letter of 1753: 'The inner condition of our congregations is bad, and forces us to many a sigh that we see hardly any real fruit of our work. We heartily bow our heads in shame, yet will not completely

give up courage, but rather rouse ourselves in faith in the Almighty, who can bring it about that all sorts of grace may be among us richly and among our sheep and lambs'. Observers in India and Ceylon express themselves more kindly, mainly praising what had been achieved, and they thought that the Tranquebar missionaries had made truly converted Christians.

They knew nothing of furloughs in the hills or at home. Ziegenbalg enjoyed only one trip to Europe, hardly a furlough. We respect the missionaries when we read in their biographies how they remained on the field as a matter of course and without a murmur, although many of the missionaries died young or at a relatively early age. Of all the fifty-six missionaries of Tranquebar, nearly twenty died before reaching the age of thirty and only very few reached the age of forty. On the other hand we note with great wonder that seven missionaries were active on the field from twenty-three to thirty years, six from thirty to forty years, five from forty to fifty years. Fabricius served for fifty-one years, Kohlhoff Senior for fifty-three years and Rottler for sixty years. None of them were saints, not even the great Schwartz or Fabricius. But they were, with a few exceptions, filled with zeal and showed a capacity for devotion to the cause, and a readiness for sacrifice without any recognition, which makes them models for all time.

CHAPTER XII

NEW STATIONS

Although the missionaries were Royal Danish missionaries, they had no idea to carry on work only in the territory of the Danish colony, and to be Tranquebar missionaries in a narrow local sense. From the beginning they had a wide horizon. For men living according to the Scriptures this needed no special conviction. Had they been able, they would have spread out much faster and much farther. Their desire to do this is evident from the 'contents of the letter to the King of Tanjore', which they had already drawn up in December 1709, with nine points. To this they had wanted to add the Gospel of Matthew and a Tamil translation of Freylingshausen's *Foundation of Theology*. They wanted to 'request the liberty for one of us to travel in his country and proclaim the Truth of God to the people'. However, they desisted from this because they were informed,

that no letter could reach the Maharajah without a large present, so left the matter until God showed a better opportunity.

There was, however, an attempt at such a journey. The trip lasted exactly one day, September 2, 1709. Ziegenbalg himself describes this venture in the diary and in a letter of 11th September, 1709. His colleagues accompanied him for one mile. The Tamil companions were all very alarmed when they knew the object of the journey. Thereupon he gave everybody who was faint hearted the chance to go back, but nobody went. In a village Ziegenbalg laid aside his black clothes and dressed according to the custom of the land in white, namely in 'a white under and upper garment, on the head a white turban, about the body a white apron, over the shoulders a red striped cloth, on the feet red sandals without heels. With this I made use of, according to the custom of the land, a sun umbrella which was also so arranged that it could be at the same time used as a fan'. After walking from six in the morning to one in the afternoon, the companions became tired and hungry, and we went 'into a small town named Perumalai'. In an overcrowded resthouse, a conversation revealed that no 'white European could travel in the country unless he had a passport issued by the King or one of his highest officials. It was known all over the kingdom that he had made Christians in Tranquebar and had written a Tamil book about the Christian teachings.' Besides this, there was a rumour going around that much money had come to him from Europe. If he went on, everyone would suppose that he had several thousand rupees with him. This alone and his reputation for conversions would be enough to bring about his arrest. Nor could his journey remain hidden. Because, as they spoke in a parable, he was not like a cow of which there were many, so that they would not attract attention. But if an elephant came into the country, everybody would take notice 'because elephants aren't raised in our country and are something novel'. Without the licence of the King everything would be in vain, as the Portuguese priests had experienced, for he had killed a few, and imprisoned others, who had then died in prison. He must become a subject of the King and a permanent resident of the country, if he wanted to travel freely. They gave him something to eat and advised him to turn back in all haste, and get back that night into Danish territory. This advice Ziegenbalg followed, gave each one some betel nut and returned with great speed to arrive that evening very late, once more in Tranquebar much to the surprise of his colleagues. From this experience they drew the following conclusions. (1) They should not make

such a journey on foot, for Ziegenbalg was completely exhausted and for two days 'had to lie down because of heat and weariness'. (2) They must travel by day and 'have food as well as drink prepared sanitarily. (3) Since they could not go to Tanjore without a passport they should think more about the land of the great Mogul, more with regard to the Hindus than the Muslims. (4) The knowledge of the missionaries' presence was known in the whole country. (5) They came to an early realization of the meaning of literary work: 'that in future by sending out and distributing Malabar books, which have been written about the Christian religion, they would find a far greater entrance into this country than if they went around in person'. (6) That the non-Christians 'nevertheless have some small love for us and a good opinion'. (7) That perhaps later they could think about building a house in Tanjore territory to further the Gospel.

In the missionary conference it was then decided that Ziegenbalg should undertake a journey to Madras, and on the way try to preach. About this journey also we are well informed. He travelled with a merchant on 7th January, 1710, in a palanquin and on horseback. Many from the congregation fell weeping at his feet out of pure anxiety thinking they would never see him again.

For the safety of the journey to Madras they had gathered a real caravan. Let Ziegenbalg describe it himself: 'We took twenty-four Malabarees with us, eight soldiers, ten palanquin bearers, five porters to carry food and drink, one Malabar writer, and one servant who was obliged to prepare us food and drink every day, one attendant for the horses. One of us let himself be carried in the palanquin and the other rode on the horse; however, we constantly changed around.'

For New Year's Day he had written a letter to the Hindus about the way to God. This he had copied and distributed on the way. To Brahmins he even gave Matthew's Gospel and the treatise on Christian teaching. 'Hardly an hour passed that I didn't have an opportunity to speak to people on the way'. They passed through several villages and towns and often they 'lodged in the houses of Brahmins day and night, who showed us much love and agreed with the proclamation of the Word of God in most points. I wrote down their names and am willing henceforth to correspond with them.'

The people with whom he spoke on the first day all knew him. On the evening of 17th January, 1710, they arrived in a very large town called Sirkali, in which there were over sixty pagodas. This

is the place in which on 28th July, 1887, the Ziegenbalg Memorial Church was dedicated. Further they touched Chidambaram where Ziegenbalg seems to have seen for the first time a large temple which he describes as a 'castle with four large towers'. Then they passed through 'Porta Nova, which the Malabarees called Faranki Petai and came to the English town of Kudalur. On the fifth day they reached Pondicherry, the French town, in which the missionaries from France had their headquarters. Then they touched Sadraspatnam and St. Thomas's Mount. They covered the whole distance in nine and a half days. In Madras the Governor invited Ziegenbalg as guest and received him with great kindness. Ziegenbalg considered Madras very populous and suitable for mission work with English support. In a letter from an Englishman, he found the assurance, 'that after a time the English nation will contribute much to this work'. 'Therefore it will be well that I become acquainted with this nation and I have already spoken with a priest here, who was very happy about my arrival and insisted that I stay in his house.' Regarding this promising possibility of cooperation Ziegenbalg wrote to a good English friend at Madras, 'well prepared individuals are required', for if the cause is to be taken up earnestly 'such persons must be chosen who devote themselves completely to the heathen and do not avoid danger or toil; otherwise nothing will be accomplished. For this purpose we are diligently corresponding with Denmark, Germany, England, and Holland, in the hope that eventually they will offer a helping hand'. On 23rd July, 1708, he made a trip to Nagapatanam and made a second visit with Gruendler in September, 1709, to strengthen the tie with the Dutch.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find anywhere a complete list of the stations and congregations of the old Tranquebar Mission. In the Halle archives, under Section 20, 15, there is an original copy of the 'List of the Portuguese and Malabar town and country congregations in India according to the members from the first beginning of the Mission'. This shows the situation on 5th October, 1740, and contains an 'appendix of those who left during the last year', and is signed by Dal, Bosse, W. Obuch, C. Wiedebroch, B. Kohlhoff, P. Fabricius, and D. Zeglin. A list is also added of the members of the Malabar country congregation of 5th October, 1741. Supplements continue these two lists up to October, 1745, and also record the deaths. These lists, copies from the first Church records, are extraordinarily valuable. They give information not only as to the number of the Christians, but even about their

nationality, religion, family descent, and profession. They also note for each congregation member some characteristic in one sentence about knowledge and behaviour. These comments are frank, for example: 'given to drunkenness'; 'driven out of the company territory because of theft'; 'a bad lad'; 'not much good'; 'hasn't been to church for a long time'; 'still weak in the faith'; 'has again transgressed the Seventh Commandment' etc. Also good things are mentioned: 'A good prospect'; 'comes regularly to church'; 'considerable knowledge and a Christian life'; 'always shows a great desire for the Word and Holy Communion'. It is also revealing to look through the names. The 'Portuguese' all have European and Biblical names. In the Tamil congregation Tamil names dominate, especially in the country congregations, even if once in a while there is a David or a Magdalene. It is a good sign that from the beginning almost all the names listed are Tamil names.

Interesting and valuable as they are, the lists only go as far as 1745, and give no information about the places in the country where the Christians lived and so reveal nothing about the geographical expansion at that time, though the lists do mention five circles, in which there were Christians. We repeat these according to the spelling of the original: Majaburam, Tanschaue, Madewipatnam, Tirupalaturey, Kumbagonam, Marraweri.

But many of the congregations and stations are mentioned under different catch words in the registers of the Halle Reports. It would be an interesting task, with their help and especially after going through all the letters, annual reports, and diaries, to prepare a list of all the places which the missionaries touched, and in which they worked, baptized, and built a chapel or church. We will content ourselves with merely mentioning the chief centres of expansion. Three facts become evident. First the expansion was intensive. It extended north to Madras and far to the south. This later proved an intolerable burden for the mission, which would have done better to restrict itself to a geographically smaller area. Finally the expansion was not planned strategically, but followed opportunities as they occurred.

Under the fifteen villages belonging to Tranquebar, Porayar, referred to in the reports as Boreiar, Poreiar, or Poreiaru, was the largest and the most populous village, perhaps larger than Tranquebar. 'There are many large Malabar pagodas and Moorish churches or mosques therein and the Moors have recently built a very fine, new mosque. From Tranquebar there are trees which have been properly planted on both sides of the way,

and have red, white, and yellow flowers.' On 12th November, 1709, the mission had 'for the expansion of the work bought for Rs. 150. . . . a garden of considerable size near the village Boreiar, one and a half hours from here'. There were three ponds which they had stocked with fish and 400 fruit trees. The intentions for this garden were: (1) To raise for their daily food, all kinds of plants. (2) To provide several Catechumens with work. (3) To build up a Malabar school.

Already in 1710 a small house was built. On 16th December, 1709, the foundation was laid and it was completed on 20th February, 1710. It was to be a school and a residence for one or two missionaries. On 22nd February, 1710, Gruendler moved into the 'Jerusalem Garden at Boreiar'. On 1st March, 1710, a school was opened and a teacher employed. But because of difficulties and some persecution he returned with the school to Tranquebar on April 10th. But on 16th October he returned to Porayar with a few school children. Children and Catechumens were instructed and on 17th December, 1710, 'the first baptism of a boy was performed. Through many obstacles and persecutions the missionaries were obliged to take this small work back into the city again on 20th April, 1711. The garden and house remained and served the missionaries as a base for their village trips, and every week they went out with the children from Tranquebar, to teach Tamil school children. Gruendler wrote several letters from there, which have been preserved. The school work was only taken up again much later, in the former paper mill with a few children, with a Christian teacher to instruct them. In 1732 it was called 'the new school at Poraiar for Malabar boys' and had ten pupils who were under the supervision of Catechist Aaron, who lived in Porayar. In Porayar there were at that time only three Christian families. They conducted the school 'mainly for the sake of the heathen in the villages of the city, and for the sake of our sudra Christians in the country'. This information is especially interesting because they add that the school in Porayar was racially pure, and consisted only of sudra children, while in the city school, that is in Tranquebar, 'there are also many pariah children'. They did not hesitate to add that the pariah children 'sat separately, when they learn and when they eat and even slept separately'.

Nothing effective ever developed out of this school, which was conducted as a branch of Tranquebar according to the Halle pattern. Neither did the paper mill prove to be a success, and in November, 1722, it was sold. In the small mission house

different missionaries lived. Later it became a lodging for the catechists.

The great event in Porayar came in 1746, when the Bethlehem Church was dedicated on June 1st. This did not happen because there was a congregation at that place which might have needed this church building. We have no definite figures about the congregation in Porayar, beyond the previously mentioned three Christian families. The reason for building the Porayar church was that the congregation in Tranquebar had grown so that by 1717 the Jerusalem Church in the city had become too small. So here we have a branching of the parish, because the hope in which the Tranquebar church had been built had been so well realized that even on ordinary Sundays extra space had to be made for the crowd of hearers round the door. The Porayar church was not built for a congregation in Porayar, but was built there because Porayar was centrally located for the Christians of various villages and could easily be reached. In volume six of the Halle Reports on page 920, a plan of the church is to be found. The four wings of the cruciform church were permanently assigned to the men and women. It is sad to read that in the south wing behind the altar sat the sudra women opposite them in the north wing the sudra men, in the east wing sat the pariah women, in the west wing the pariah men !

In the volume mentioned, the story of the building is described very much in detail and signed by the missionaries Bosse, Wiedebrock, Kohlhoff, Zeglin, Maderup and Klein. On 14th October, 1743 the foundation was laid. The visitors and all the individual details are named. ' After singing the first verse of Luther's hymn ' Es wolle Gott uns gnaedig sein ' in the German language, led by the Tamil children who learned German, the German address on Psalm 102 : 14-17 was given. After this address was ended, we requested the acting Commandant, the other gentlemen of the Council, the Secretary, and the Captain of the Militia, to lay the first foundation stones. The Tamil children sang in German from the hymn ' Aus meins Hertzens Grunde' the seventh verse: 'Daruf so sprech in Amen'. Then there was a Tamil sermon on 2 Cor. 6:16, ' You are the temple of the living God '. Rice sent by a benefactor of the mission was distributed to the poor, among whom there were also Roman Catholics and non-Christians.

Many donations helped to complete the building. 300 very large rafters and 2,000 laths were donated by the Dutch Governor of Ceylon and another Dutch friend gave the shipping expenses, altogether a present of almost Rs. 800 !

For planks for the doors they applied to Batavia, but without result. Only by the beginning of 1746 could they get wood from Nagapatanam, which was expensive.

For the dedication there was again a large gathering including 'the Ramalinga-Naick and the City Maniacar'. The large church was not sufficient to hold the large crowd.

Among the clergy sat also a Tamil Pastor, the country preacher Diogo. For the Europeans a sermon was delivered on Psalm 95:6. Then followed an inspiring Tamil service. A poem three pages long, which the Danish Missionary Waderup composed for this festive occasion closes with the words:

> *Gloria in Exelsis Domino sit debita caelis,*
> *Pax Tamulum terris, gratis grata nigris* !

The diary for 1st June, 1746 states: '....On completion of the dedication, we had the opportunity to speak with many respectable non-Christians, who had heard the Tamil address and thus knew the real purpose of this building. We urged them with application and admonition to come in and become children of God. Before we dismissed the local Christians, we examined the children from the school'.

Unfortunately they had to report in the middle of 1756 that due to local war 'the enemy had done much damage to the Bethlehem Church, left no doors and windows, taken the altar covering, books, etc. and otherwise done great damage'. Through the 'Tanschar, cavalry and infantry' the mission had suffered a loss of several hundred Taler.

The expansion of the mission to the north included the founding of the station at Madras. As previously mentioned, the connections with Madras go back to the first years of the mission. Ziegenbalg went there and was active and many of the missionaries landed in Madras. They wrote home that in the 'white city' which was inhabitated mostly by the English, there were also in 1730 some Portuguese and two Jews from England. There was an English church and a French Roman Catholic church, with about 1,000 Indian members. In the Black Town (Georgetown) the Armenian Christians also had a church. Here lived the Mohammedans and many thousand Hindus.

The actual mission work was begun in 1726 through Schultze, who for several reasons preferred Madras to Tranquebar. J. H. Cordez wrote in 1849: that the Madras mission was run by English finance but with German missionaries (Schultze 1726-42, Fabricius 1742-88, Gericke 1788-1803, Rottler 1803-

36). 'The Mission was carried on in Lutheran form for more than 80 years, until Rottler let himself be overcome by the English system. A more sober and documented description of this transition is given by the missionary Taylor in his 'Memoir of the first centenary of the earliest Protestant Mission in Madras'. Besides the missionaries mentioned, Geister, Sartorius, and Breithaupt were active in Madras.

The S.P.C.K. undertook a burden which was almost too heavy for it. In 1733, the Society wrote that it was continuing to support Tranquebar and that the new expenses for Madras, which they had borne single handed from the beginning, were still very considerable, but it hoped through the help of good Christians also to be able to meet the new responsibilities.

German missionaries were taken into the service of the English mission, because the English clergy were not willing to serve the Church abroad. In 1719, Francke said the English Society wanted several workers, if they could be first prepared for the work by the institute at Tranquebar and then used to set up good schools at English stations in India.

The German mission served the English Church in this way. The question about the reordination of the non-episcopally ordained missionaries, which later on caused so much trouble, was not acute at this period. The English considered themselves well served by co-workers from Halle. This also happened, when Schultze completely joined English service in 1728 and when the S.P.C.K. turned to Halle for more workers. Halle then sent the missionaries Geister and Sartorius.

From Halle there also came money for the English mission, and Halle received the mission accounts. Thus it remained that Halle was the spiritual home and the source of strength for the workers in India and among the missionaries the unity was not disturbed. In Madras the beginning was difficult. The annual accounts for 1730-31 show how much the missionaries had to struggle with small funds. Then comes the hardly surprising sentence: '....until we finally had to borrow'. They gave the assurance that in everything they managed as economically as possible.

The real beginning of the Madras work can be dated 1st September, 1726. Schultze landed that morning. By noon he waited on the Governor, and had a long conversation with him. On September 5th, notices in the Tamil language proclaimed from the four gates of Black Town that a school was to be opened. Schultze writes in his report that he had informed the Malabarees that this offer of opening a school was 'by order of the Governor'.

Whether such an order was really given we do not know. Hardly had the notice been read when people ran to Schultze, who 'from morning until late at night had them visiting him.' On 14th September, 1726, Schultze began a Malabar school with twelve children. There were no fees, but that was the only concession given and an hour per day was devoted to Portuguese or English instruction.

Since they also spoke Telugu in Madras which was then known as Gentou, Wargui, and Telungi, Schultze appointed a Brahmin 'to instruct those children who wanted to learn in the Telugu language. From this day on many children came to school. Schultze learned from them the Telugu language. Schultze was dependent on three non-Christian teachers for his school and he tried to win them to the faith.

Schultze received from the Governor a 'definite monthly assistance' for his school, from November 1726 onwards. Although this was a small sum, it was promised to Schultze for as long as he ran the school—a forerunner of the grant-in-aid system of modern times.

We cannot here write a history about the Madras schools but in 1732 a 'Portuguese school' was established, which was attended by seven boys, 'of whom six are supported but the seventh receives free tuition and books'. In the Malabar school there were thirteen boys and four girls of which nine boys lived in the mission and were fully supported. Two boys and the girls lived with their parents and received only a small monetory aid for their keep. The other five boys who got free education and books were all Christian children. Thus this was practically an orphanage in the spirit of Halle. The school building was still big enough when in 1733 there were 46 children but it was very old. The missionaries regretted that they did not have their own building for a girls' school. This only became possible when they were able to expand in Vepery.

Schultze and his successors worked hard during both war and peace, in the city and near and far among the Indians, the many Germans and also the Jews, who came to them. We learn that Schultze had so many visitors that it was too difficult to speak to each individual. 'Therefore' he wrote, 'I began to set apart one hour in the morning. in which I would publicly explain the Bible and whoever desired to hear the Word of God came to my lodging between 9 and 10 o'clock. I sit at the house door, that all passers-by can see and hear me. First I explained to them a few chapters out of the Old Testament. I also take the New Testament and show them the one way,

Jesus Christ, through Whom we may come to the Father. I read and explain with good assurance because I know that the Word of God is a living seed. I do not invite anybody in particular, I only pray to God unceasingly that He Himself will send souls to me '.

Money troubles were a difficulty. The year 1744 was a of special year trial. From the authorities, sponsors, and friends in Europe came ' not a single line nor any additions to our salary or provision demanded for our work '. This was ' all the harder, because our treasury was already in debt and now had to go in even deeper '. The Governor, Nicholas Norse, a corresponding member of the Society, helped them out with a loan, and others did the same. In 1748, the Danish pastor Schionneboelle and the widow of the Danish Governor Pankin in Tranquebar voluntarily sent gifts of love. The pastor even raised a collection in a Danish congregation, which amounted to over 100 Pagodas and when he celebrated his second wedding, he raised a collection of gifts for the Madras missionaries. This brought in almost 61 Pagodas.

The original location of the mission in Madras is not easily determined. Exact facts are missing. On 2nd July, 1729, Schultze bought a house but he does not say where it was situated. We know that the missionary and his school were housed in the so-called Black Town. Geister wrote to Halle in 1739 that ' for the purpose of the work ' they bought another house, pulling down the old one and using the good material in the construction of the new one. The work proceeded slowly because in that year there was an unusually heavy monsoon, and thus the walls could not dry out. The determination of the place is interesting : ' the location of the house is about the most comfortable in the whole area, in that it is high and lies open to the sea, so that in wet or dry season it is very healthy. It lies on the main road, so that no other building in front or on either side touches it : wherefore it is so much more quiet and convenient for our purpose '. They moved in on 13th April, 1739, although construction was still going on. After the troubles of the Anglo-French war, they lived from Easter 1750 in a rented place, ' in one of the northern suburbs of Madras ' with ' several poor huts for the Malabar mission employees.' In the western suburb there was a small cemetery.

What were the results in Madras ? After two years Schultze had not baptized any non-Christians and some thought that it was all in vain and Schultze was even brought to task. He asked for a little patience. Before the end of 1728 he had a congre-

gation of seventeen baptized and twenty-seven catechumens. 'The meeting place was at first a large room in a rented house, but after I bought our own house, meetings were held there and also the catechumens were baptized there.' At the end of 1730 the number of baptized Christians amounted to 206. In the yearly reports, the condition of the congregation is given annually. When Schultze left in 1743, there were 678 souls in the Tamil congregation and 13 in the Portuguese. Of these 105 had already died. According to the carefully compiled special list in the Church Record Book there were in 1743 'in the company territory 240 and in Paleiacatta 25 persons,' the others living outside of Madras in villages.

In 1750 they already numbered 915 Tamils and 62 Portuguese. By 1767 there was a total of 1,877 Christians, of whom many had died. About the Church Record Book they reported in 1738: 'the members of the newly gathered congregation are written up according to their age, sex, profession, and occupation. In the beginning it was in high German but for several years, to save the trouble of translation it was written also in English. But since some of our Catechists understand neither of these languages, and yet often must look up matters in the Church Book, we have translated this into their language ... Since now the Catechists can read this book themselves, we have divided the whole Malabar congregation into four groups. Each Catechist pays special attention to that part, which has been assigned to him. A Malabar catechist has supervision over those who, on account of their manual labour are found along the sea coast. Another goes to other workers; a Telugu Catechist, who also speaks Tamil works among those with whom he is best able to deal. Another works among the pariahs, because he himself is one of their race and lives among them'. Besides this the catechists had to visit those living out of town and catechize them. From August 1743, there were 'two small schools in the pariah villages, one in Poeteitseri, and one in Korukkapoerei'. The teachers were under the supervision of the catechists. Several times a week they also came 'for Bible instruction and prayer and made personal reports.

On 3rd February, 1744, a Christian supervisor was installed for the pariah Christians in the city and the nearby villages. He was elected by these Christians themselves, after consulting the missionaries. On this occasion for the first and only time, we hear something about the different castes which composed the Madras congregation. The pariah Christians made up the largest part of the congregation. This created no problem

and we find, for example, that they had one cup for all at Communion.

In 1732 Schultze and Satorius wrote of their longing for a church, because the services held in the house had to take place under crowded conditions. For the non-Christians and Roman Catholics, there was no accommodation. The Society in England inquired of the East India Company which referred the matter to the Governor. But nothing happened. Even in 1739, the services had to be held in the house. Then came the war and Madras had to be evacuated. On 1st November, 1752, came a storm, which did not even spare the house of the missionaries, as they graphically described it, and worked so much damage that there were no houses available for rent. God used the storm 'as a means finally to give us the confiscated Roman Church and residence at Vepery, which the Governor had assigned to us three years before'. Fabricius went to the Governor to ask for this allocation and found him willing. On 24th November, 1752, the title deed was prepared and on the 27th they moved in. On December 4, the first Sunday in Advent, they were able to conduct a service in their long-wished for church. The members of both congregations appeared in full attendance at the two services. They sang 'All glory be to God on high'. They read Psalms 84, 87 and 100. Then they recited a part of Luther's Catechism, prayed, and kneeling, sang the Te Deum. Then two children were baptized and several lyrics sung.

But what sort of a church was this into which they moved? In 1746, before the French came and occupied Madras, the building had been begun. After the liberation in 1749, the English confiscated two of the largest churches of the French, namely those in the 'white city' and in Vepery.

Now the missionaries lived half an hour away from Madras to the west, in fresh open air and among level fields. Behind them in the west was the small village of Vepery. They had a fairly large garden, which was completely surrounded by a wall.

In Madras they were not concerned with outward results and large numbers. Not all were accepted as catechumens, and often only after weeks of testing. Even then they were not assured of baptism. They were taught the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Words of Institution for Baptism, etc. Then a missionary took over the instruction and taught them Christian faith and duties, and sought to lead them to true faith. Finally, after a public examination and the giving of a pledge that they would obediently walk according to the teaching of Christ, they were baptized before the congregation.

If older or less gifted persons could not master all the material to be learned, some allowances were made.

The second station of the English Mission was Cuddalore where the missionaries were also Germans. Ziegenbalg had touched Cuddalore on his journey to Madras on 9th January, 1710. But only through Satorius did Cuddalore become a mission station. He was one of those whom Halle had selected according to the wish of the English Society. When there came another call just before the ship left, they sent Satorius, Inspector of the Halle Orphanage, who had lived in the orphanage for seven years and had gained much experience. On 8th July, 1730, his ship entered Madras harbour and cast anchor about two miles from the Fort. In Madras he learned Portuguese and Tamil, took up congregational work, and toured through the country.

Returning from Tranquebar, he preached in Madras on 24 January, 1734, in Portuguese to the Dutch congregation of soldiers, slaves, servants, and others.

On 4 August, 1737 this excellent man preached his farewell sermon in Madras, and set out with Geister for Cuddalore. Unfortunately, after this short beginning Satorius died on 27 May, 1738, aged only 34 and was laid to rest in the English cemetery and prayers according to the English Liturgy were read, since nearly all of the English came to the funeral.

Now everything depended on Geister—and he was not the right man for laying a foundation for the new work. He had given his colleagues much trouble, and had made trouble for Fabricius regarding the quarrel about the Catechism which he started in Madras. When Madras was threatened by the French troops in 1746, he fled, first to Batavia and then to Europe.

Although Geister had been in the country for five years when Satorius died, he had not mastered Tamil sufficiently to be able to preach. By January 1739 he felt more confident in Tamil and began to converse with people outside his house. To do him justice we must add that he also learned Portuguese and preached in it. After 1739 he considered 'mastering the language is now my main business, because I am not ready to speak so readily as is necessary for a conversation in public or to address an assembly'. From him we learn that shortly before Satorius died, a Portuguese school with twelve children was started. Geister also began to build a mission house and requested an assistant, because he felt the strain of being alone and having the whole load on his shoulders.

Geister then contacted the non-Christians, in the city and

outside. By the end of 1739 he still had not 'found any Tamilian with a longing after truth and salvation', although he had shown himself kind and friendly to them. He wrote the Latin meanings for an extensive and complete Malabar dictionary, which was first begun by the missionaries at Tranquebar, and later on continued and added to by Satorius. Soon he felt that this occupation hindered him from his real work and damaged his eyes. In February 1737, Geister visited the Dutchmen in Porto Novo, and at their request he baptized three children.

For his Sunday services in his house, he had very few hearers, seldom more than three or four in addition to the children. Geister prayed that God might awaken at least one person or one family to know the truth of the Christian religion. In April 1740, he began with the construction of a small school on the south side of the compound for Tamil children. This also served as a Malabar chapel until a small church was built. On 31 May, 1740, the building was completed. He began with four boys on 29th July, 1740 as free pupils. A Christian school-teacher was available at Tranquebar in the person of Ambrosius. The number of children soon rose to nearly a dozen. They were of good caste. From 17th August, 1740, Geister had a colleague, the Swedish missionary Kiernander.

The missionaries recorded the progress of the work in their 'daily registers'. At the end of 1742 the first congregation statistics are given: 32 baptized. In 1743, 37 souls were baptised and they joined the Tamil congregation in addition to three Roman Catholics. Two congregation members had died, so they had altogether 59 Tamil Christians, of whom 9 were children. The Portuguese congregation had 39 members. Kiernander wrote to Francke that those baptized in 1743, mostly from the palli and pariah castes were gardeners, washermen, fishermen, and day labourers, most of whom were poor people. On 13th September, 1744, 71 Tamil and 44 Portuguese Christians were recorded. In 1745 this had risen to 99 and 55 respectively and by the end of 1746 to 145 and 66, a total of 211. In 1747, the total rose to 340 and at the end of 1750 there were 508. These had been taken into the mission since 1737 by the Geister, Kiernander, Briethaupt, Gericke, and Huettemann. This result is all the more worthy of recognition since the means at their disposal was small and work was carried on amidst much unrest and clamour of war, the siege and capture of Cuddalore. In 1761 an occupation force of almost 2,000 Europeans was stationed in the town. In 1758, the French took even the church bells away. They held the services first in their house and later on in

the school. But in 1747 even this was too small and they thought about erecting a house of God. Two years later in 1749 they had one.

Like the congregation in Madras, the Cuddalore congregation also came into possession of a church through the war. In both cases the English admiral Boscawen had been of assistance. In Cuddalore he persuaded the Governor and the Council to give the Roman Catholic Church (also the Roman Portuguese Church) to the mission. On 30th October, 1749, Kiernander writes in the diary: 'Our Governor, Charles Floyer, today gave me the confirmation to the previous promise of the Admiral about the Roman church, and at the same time told me that he would fix a definite time for the Roman Father to remove his effects and betake himself out of the boundaries of the company'. Again on 19th November, 1749 he writes, "this morning early the keys to the Roman Portuguese church were given to me". It was cleaned and old and rotten doors and windows were renewed. The carpenters were told to make a few benches, because there were none in the church'.

On 26th November the dedication of 'Christ Church' took place, with the Tamil and Portuguese Congregations, the English congregation joining in the celebration. Kiernander preached the dedication sermon and, inspired by the name of the church, spoke of Christ as the Head of the Church, Saviour and Judge of all men, and of the duties of the church members. In view of the conditions of that time, it is doubtful whether this inheritance of Catholic property was desirable. It did not remain with the congregation very long. We do not know why, but in 1767, a new 'Zion' church, was built in which Huettemann and Gericke officiated. Unfortunately the fires of war were not completely quenched by the victory of the English in 1763. Cuddalore became one of the new theatres of war, in fact, from 1777 on there was a series of terrors, added to by famine and disease. Many fled but Gericke remained. In 1782 he saved the city from destruction. Cuddalore was threatened by land and sea by the French and Hyder Ali. The fear and terror of Hyder Ali generated a panic. Then Gericke went to the French camp and was able to arrange that they and not the tyrant Hyder Ali occupied the town. However, all but two of the Tamil school children had died. The church had been turned into a magazine. There was no longer any question of doing mission work for even after the conclusion of a peace treaty in 1783, the town remained in the hands of the enemy. Thus ended a promising and well-begun work. It was not

until Christmas 1859 that a new, small church was built and dedicated by missionary Beierlein.

Nagapatanam was visited in the course of time by many missionaries including Ziegenbalg and Gruendler, but not until 16 October, 1732, when seven persons were baptized was an attempt made to gather a Malabar congregation, by the energetic Dutch pastor Engelbert. When the missionaries Couch and Wiedebrork came to Nagapatanam in January 1741, the Dutch pastor was still there. The service in the inner part of the city was well attended by Malabarees and Portuguese. At that time there were fifty-one members and five catechumens. Kohlhoff and C. F. Schwartz were there in February 1758, and talked with the Dutch Governor about building a church. That April, Schwartz came again to Nagapatanam, with his colleague Klein. For the brethern of the Augsburg Confession they held German lectures and gave five German sermons to the Lutherans. One hundred and six persons came to the Communion service. When the missionaries Wiedebrock and Huettemann were there in February 1759, they attended the dedication of a newly erected Malabar or Tamil church on the beach. This was done on February 3 ' by the Praedikant Hommes with a Dutch address on the words of I Kings 8:30, and the two missionaries were invited to conduct a Malabar service in this church. The next day they delivered three sermons in three languages. Among the hearers there were thirty Tamil Christians.

The first missionary to live in Nagapatanam was Gericke, after working there for a long time from a distance. He worked there from 1783-88 and built up a congregation.

Tranquebar lay surrounded by the kingdom of Tanjore. On 24 November, 1721, and in January, 1722, Schultze had visitors from Tanjore. The visitor in 121 was an emissary from the biother of the King's mother, named Telungarasa, who had become interested in the mission through literature from Tranquebar. He had begun a correspondence with Schultze and now invited him to Tanjore.

However, it was not he, but Pressier, who personally met Telungarasa on 24 March, 1728, and in the presence of many Brahmins and Pandharams was able to show him in an hour's conversation the most important points of the Christian faith. After two days he was invited for a meal. Then Pressier was invited to Tanjore, where Telungarasa's son, Uttosisingarasa, was to celebrate his wedding in June.

On 5 July, 1728, Pressier went to Tanjore as the first German Evangelical missionary. This whole trip and his adventures are

well described. He also reports that he presented the bridegroom with the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles bound in silk. He chose a silk binding, because a binding of leather or parchment would have been repulsive to the Brahmins.

Pressier daily received visits from Christians, members of the Lutheran congregation in the suburb. Those of the pariah caste were not allowed to come into the house, but had to remain standing outside and he spoke a few words to them from above through a window. The sudras were allowed upstairs to see him. This was because Pressier and his people were staying in the house of the Prince and as guests they had to respect his caste views. Pressier would have liked to have visited the Christians, but Telungarasa informed him that this was not permissible.

How was it that there was a congregation already there in 1727? It began through a former Catholic Christian. This subordinate officer, Rajanaikan, of the serwei caste, had received literature from Tranquebar. Soon he had all of the Bible which had been translated into Tamil. In 1727, he wanted to join the Evangelical church. The missionaries were cautious and rather discouraged him, but he remained firm, even instructed three of his soldiers in the faith and brought them with him to Tranquebar in July 1727. The capable Catechist Aaron was sent from Tranquebar in order to investigate the possibilities of an entrance for work.

The driving force was the Catechist Rajanaikan, 1700-1771, who served the mission for over 40 years. This man had worked for his Lord and also suffered abundantly, especially through the Roman Catholics, to whom he had formerly belonged. He lived in Tanjore and from there went out into the country, receiving help from the catechists and pastors of Tranquebar. His unconditional loyalty, even in time of war assures him a place of honour among the Indian workers. The Halle Reports contain much material about him.

At the end of 1717, there were fifteen Christians in the Tanjore territory. They were baptized in Tranquebar. By Christmas, 1728, the number had reached over a hundred. The longed for beginning in this country had taken place.

On 5 October, 1730, the Tanjore country congregation already had 367 Christians and was constantly growing. In the year 1774 Schwartz baptized 500 souls. No wonder that between 1773 and 1800 the names of 3,026 newcomers are listed. Of these 103 died and twelve fell away or went over to the Roman church, so that the total number of souls in 1800 was given as 2,911.

For the first time missionaries could preach openly in the streets of the city of Tanjore, on 21 July, 1753. Missionary Wiedebrock was allowed to accompany the Danish captain Sivers as interpreter, which service he did in the capacity of a missionary. Now that a path had been cleared, other missionaries followed. Klein was there in 1755, after which for a while the country was closed again, but in 1757 Kohlhoff undertook a journey. In 1759 Schwartz and Zeglin did the same, and in 1760 Wiedebrock and Kohlhoff made the journey. Missionary Dame reported making a trip in 1761. The great Schwartz lived and worked there from 1772-1798.

A school was established in Tanjore on 13th July, 1742, by Rajanaikan. It was a small hut open on one side. Services were also held there. In January 1744 mention is made that 'not long ago a prayer hall was erected for the sudras in a sudra street'. However, in March 1755, mention is made of a 'prayer hall, which was only built recently'. This prayer hall was situated outside the city. In 1761 they tell of 'our little church which the captain recently had raised'. In 1771 came the siege of Tanjore. Probably due to this, when Schwartz came in 1772 there was no church. He was glad when in 1775 a pious officer helped to erect a prayer hall.

Things were different in Tiruchirapalli where there were many Roman Catholics. Rajanaikan had been there in 1734, and in March 1761, accompanied missionary Dame, who stayed for five days to serve Germans, English, and Indians with the Word. In May, Rajanaikan was there again and he diligently took care of the Christians for ten days. On 18th May, Schwartz arrived there with Klein. They all explained in great detail what they saw, experienced, and achieved. Gentlemen from the English colony offered of their own free will to build a house for services The very next day a site was found and secured and on 11th July, 1762, Schwartz preached in the newly built prayer hall but we regret very much that we have not been able to find any more details. Schwartz decided to remain for a short time which turned out to be ten years! At the end of May, 1762 on Pentecost Sunday, he preached in German, Tamil and Portuguese to the few Christians. We do not know their number. Nevertheles we hear that on Christmas Day 1765, thirty-eight Tamilians came to Communion. Not only in the city, but also in the villages he was active. Every visit to Tanjore became an evangelistic tour. From him also we hear the sad complaint: 'the Europeans here are mostly a great hindrance to the kingdom of Christ through their life,

as in all India'. In Tiruchi he had a Tamil and an English school, each with one teacher. This was at a time when 'daily people fall down in the streets from starvation and sell their children to save themselves and the children from starvation.'

In connection with the conquest of Madura by the English, the question about a proper church building arose, for the prayer house was only a 'straw-house'. Schwartz had to hold a divine service for the returning English army. Since there was no church, he had to use the barracks. This stirred up a desire for a separate church and a collection, to which most of the officers contributed, raised 2,000 Taler. The new church was to be for the use of the garrison and also for the Tamil and the Portuguese congregations. 'On 13 March, 1765, the foundation was laid. Exactly a year later the arch for the roof was completed and in May, the building of the church was finished and on Pentecost Sunday, 1766, the church was dedicated.

The church, was ninety feet long and fifty feet wide, and greatly used. On Sundays from 8-10 the Tamil Christians assembled, at 10 the English came and, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the Portuguese. In the evening there was a prayer meeting.

Schwartz wrote on 10 July, 1766 to the Mission Board in Copenhagen and emphasized that he 'always considered himself a Royal Danish Missionary'. He did not intend to change this status. His opinion was that this station should be permanently occupied by a Royal Danish missionary. A missionary stationed in Tanjore could not go outside the Fort without special permission, but from Tiruchirapalli one could go anywhere. However in 1767, Schwartz became an 'English Missionary' after the Society in England had written to Copenhagen for him. Schwartz agreed, but implored Francke, not to cut of his fatherly love but continue to further admonish and in a fatherly way correct him. He would rather have gone to Tranquebar but remained in Tiruchirapalli. Unfortunately, we hear nothing from Schwartz's many reports and letters about the number of members in Tiruchirapalli. Only in 1787 is there a writing from Pohle, that he had 69 Christian families, altogether 319 Portuguese and Tamil souls. In 1793, he reports 73 baptisms and two receptions from the Catholic church, but the number of the congregation members he too was not able to determine exactly.

The zeal to save souls inspired the missionaries and Tamil Christians to look further to the south. Already in autumn 1751, the former Catholic catechist Saruweien, the oldest school

teacher from Tranquebar, Packien, and the catechist Rajanaiken travelled as far as Nadtam, a day's trip from Madurai. In February, 1753 Saruweien was accepted and assigned as assitant at the small congregation in Madurai. Although the Christians there were only a small group, they considered it well to follow the guidance which the Lord had shown them. In February 1778, Schwartz went as the first missionary into the city of Madurai, which fourteen years earlier he could not enter because of his health. He stayed there only a day because he was on the way to Palamcottah. The beginnings of the mission there go back to Schwartz, and other Lutheran missionaries like Pohle, Kohlhoff Jr, Jaenicke, Gericke, Ringeltaube and Rhenius.

Schwartz went to Palamcottah because he was to marry a European couple and baptize some children. In Tatschenur, near Tinnevelly, he met fifty or sixty native soldiers from his Tanjore congregation. In Palamcottah, he instructed and baptized a Brahmin widow, Raja Clarinda. Clarinda proved herself to be an upright Christian who won others also. In the following year her servant Johannes was baptized, and in 1780 there were forty Christians. From January 1785, the faithful catechist Sattianadan was active in Palamcottah. He was ordained on 26th December, 1790, and was the first Tamil pastor in the south. He and Jaenicke laid the real foundation for the work among the shanars. The first Christian village in Tinnevelly District was Mudelur where there was a church and a constantly growing congregation, as all those fleeing from persecution used to go there. The chapel was twice burnt down by Hindus. At Christmas 1804, the chapel which had been rebuilt for the third time was dedicated. In 1802 the Christian villages, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem were established, and in 1804 also Nazareth.

In Palamcottah, Clarinda, with the help of two pious Englishmen, had already built a small church in the Fort, which Schwartz dedicated in August, 1785 as the first church in the south. Here Kohlhoff baptized 108 people in 1803. The fire of faith spread, in spite of all persecution. According to a report from Schwartz, there were almost 300 members in Palamcottah in 1790 and in September, 1825 there were 125 Christian villages.

Quite stirring are the records in the diaries of the great missionary Gericke, who spent his last years serving in the south. Sometimes he baptized hundreds in one day. Thus in October he baptized 203 people, belonging to 48 families. In Nageladi the same thing happened on 2nd October, 1802. There was no church there, but the people had prepared the Hindu temple

for divine services. He baptized all the inhabitants of the village, 220 persons from 53 families. It was eleven o'clock in the evening before the elders were elected.

In nearby Kundali a Hindu temple was transformed into a prayer hall. On 3rd October, 1802, 62 families consisting of 248 persons were baptized in one service which lasted from eight in the morning till two in the afternoon. In the neighbouring Karikovil, the temple standing on the southern side was transformed into a prayer hall and 204 persons were baptized. Elders were also appointed in Uwari, which with the other three vllages is situated between Cape Comorin and Manapar. Often the Christians were beaten, pillaged, threatened, and thrown into prison. But when churches burned, faith also burned brightly.

After Gericke, Ringeltaube became the leader. By nature he was just the opposite. He writes about himself thus: 'I am one of the greatest cowards who has ever gone out to preach the Gospel. But the Lord has graciously strengthened my poor heart'. Thus in 1805, he set out from Tranquebar to work in the south. In 10 years, at different places, he baptized 900 persons and built several small churches.

Many today do not realise that the Tranquebar Mission was the base for the abundant work in the southern tip of India. The operations went even further to Ceylon, to Jaffnapatnam and Colombo. Already the earliest missionaries kept up correspondence with Ceylon. On 6th September, 1737, a young man was sent to Colombo from Tranquebar to help prepare Sinhalese type and Ceylon sent timber for the church and the school buildings. Tranquebar sent in return German, Portuguese, and Tamil books. In September, 1740, the Catechism in Tamil was sent. 'Since some new friends in Jaffnapatnam and Colombo longed for and urgently requested that one of us come to Ceylon to nurture and strengthen them with the Word of God and Holy Communion', Schwartz was sent there in April 1760. His diary about this journey from April to September gives a colourful picture of his varied adventures and experiences.

To serve the brethern of the Augsburg Confession he set out from Nagapatanam on 27th April, 1760 and arrived at Jaffna two days later. There he visited the Commandant and also two Tamil preachers of the Dutch church. The services were held in one of the houses of the Company. To celebrate Holy Communion he needed special permission from the Governor of Colombo. So he went there on May 18. The city church was sanctioned for the Lutheran celebration of Holy Communion

and a preparatory Confession was announced. Those who came for the Lord's Supper were artillery men. In one week 400 came for Confession. Schwartz visited all, and prepared them spiritually. Gericke also who visited Ceylon in 1766.

From Tranquebar threads also go to Bengal. Boehving's attempt to work there did not succeed, when he went there in September, 1711. The Swedish missionary of the Tranquebar Mission, John Zacharias Kiernander, made a more successful though questionable attempt. He wished to work in an English mission like Cuddalore, and in this way came to Calcutta, on 18th September, 1758. He thought he was too old to learn Bengali. Through his third marriage he became a rich man, so that he was able to build the first Protestant church in Calcutta at his own expense. The church was dedicated in 1776.

Even more forgotten and unknown than the first work in Calcutta is the pioneer attempt on the Nicobar Islands. The Tranquebar Government had asked for a missionary to be sent to these islands. Poltzenhagen was chosen and set on 31st August, 1756 on board the *Copenhagen*. On September 9, the islands were sighted. Like the islanders he called himself ' Comrade, which was their usage '. Unfortunately, he met many drunken Nicobarees. Poltzenhagen preached in Dutch and Portuguese. He held the first divine service in the country on October 24th. His diary is a long chain of reports of deaths. Even the doctor died and the missionary had to be his own doctor. He writes 'after calling upon God, I take the medicine as good as I know '.

With this his diary closes. He died on 28 November, 1756, at the age of 30.

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN CO-WORKERS

The first Lutheran missionaries were the pioneers of the work in India. But they never thought that they should do everything alone. On the contrary, from the very beginning they trained Indian co-workers as writers, teachers and catechists.

By 1734 the nine missionaries already had an Indian Pastor and twenty-five catechists and teachers as helpers. There were seven scales of salary. In each the pay was very meagre, so that in 1732 due to wretched conditions and a famine some improvement had to be made. The salary of Pastor Diogo in 1751 was Rs. 21 and the highest salary of a catechist Rs. 12 per month,

one-fourth of the European salaries. The second grade salary was only about a half of this.

The pay of tbe school mistress amounted to Rs. 3 per month. She was a sensible and elderly woman of the congregation, who had to instruct the women and girls, to repeat the sermons with them, lead them in prayer in their houses and watch their behaviour. Occasionally, it also happened that when young couples embraced Christianity, the Catechists hesitated to visit them in their houses. In such cases, a woman worker was a better helper.

It was an achievement that the Lutheran mission as early as 1716 had opened a seminary in Tranquebar to train teachers, catechists and future pastors. They began with eight students. Other Indian missions in the 19th century took five or six decades to take this step ! The Tranquebar mission had the example of the Halle institution before their eyes and they followed the footsteps of Francke.

They taught geography, arithmetic, Portuguese, and to a few also German. Above all, Bible knowledge and Biblical interpretation were stressed. The teaching programme was laid down in thirteen points, and can be found in the Halle Reports. This first Seminary was closed in 1780.

The teachers and catechists had a daily conference at which the work was discussed. In 1727 the Indian pastor Aaron and the Tanjore local catechists studied Original Sin. Two months later they took up the question of private confession.

From the year 1732 we have a treatise about the catechists and their assistants. They were assistants to the ordained pastors helping in teaching and in administrative work. Normally, a catechist had to pass the seminary course, and work for a few years as teacher and then as an assistant. The assistant served the scattered Christians. It was reported, that the sudras, and the pariahs, had catechists of their own caste, especially in the country. A sudra catechist could be appointed for the pariahs in case of necessity but not *vice versa*.

The catechists had to make many visits and instruct the catechumens. They had to take care of congregations and contact the non-Christians. They administered the funds for the poor and at weddings took care that everything was done decently and that no heathen ceremonies were observed. In emergency they had the authority to baptize and in case of necessity were allowed to preach at the Sunday services. When they came for their monthly salaries, care was taken to deepen their spirituality. It was the long range view of the first missionaries

to build up a class of pastors, whom they called 'national pastors, national preachers and country preachers'.

The first ordination of a Tamilian took place in Tranquebar on 28th December, 1733. According to the 'Series Pastorum in Tamilnad, dedicated to the present Pastors of the Tamil Evangelical Church', the total number of pastors from 1733-1949 is given as 140. In the time of the old Tranquebar Mission fourteen Indians were ordained.

There are many reports about the first pastor, Aaron. His picture was published in the III and IV volumes of the Halle Reports and it was widely circulated in Europe. A pastor in Bavaria had a copper plate engraving made of the picture ornamented with a rhyme.

The missionaries had recommended Aaron for ordination as pastor of a country congregation in a letter of 17th January, 1728 and credited him with 'fear of God and....sufficient aptitude'. In Copenhagen they were very happy about this progress and on 20th October, 1729 they gave this authority, 'to ordain out of the Indian nation a capable subject for the office of missionary in the name of the Lord, and to entrust him with one or more districts for his special supervision'

The missionaries were ready to ordain one of the best city catechists, who after many years of close association with them had learnt their method of teaching and preaching as they said :- 'It is also fitting that if he bears the same burden as we do he should become a partaker of the same honour'.

The three catechists, Savarimuttu, Aaron and Diogo were up for election. It speaks for the condition of the congregation as well as for the wisdom of the missionaries that they communicated the whole plan openly to the congregation on Easter Day 1733, and expressly stated that the pastor must be chosen by common election of the whole congregation (that is, of the Tranquebar and of the country Christians). The Christians were then requested 'in public prayer....both here in the church and at home' to diligently pray God to direct the election.

From March 1733 the candidates had been given training in exegesis and homiletics and two hours a week a *Collegium Pastorale* was held with them.

The election was to take place on Pentecost Day. The catechist Savarimuttu withdrew because of his age. Aaron and Diogo delivered their trial sermons on the text given to them: Romans 8, 14-16 and I Cor. 3, 16-17. Then came the first election for a pastor, on May 27th. The heads of the Christian families from the city and the country congregations, gathered in the church.

Some one sang: 'Come Holy Ghost, God and Lord' and prayed, and then each one of them was called into the vestry to give his opinion. Half gave their vote for Aaron and the other half for Diogo. In the missionary conference, where each of the six missionaries had to read his written vote, each candidate received three votes. The decision was therefore postponed for a time.

Pastoral instructions were drawn up in which the duties of the ministry were described minutely. On 2nd October, 1733, the conference with the catechists came to the unanimous conclusion to confirm the election of Aaron through ordination. Then they called for the other candidate and also for those mission employees who had voted for him to explain to them the reason for this decision, which they all understood and agreed to. The missionaries would have liked to have been able to ordain both candidates. But the charge of the country congregation would have to be given to one and the catechist Aaron was the most capable, according to the judgment of all who knew him. He had the seniority of service and the most experience. Diogo was younger and was interested in the study of German, Portuguese, theology and other studies. Aaron was given his call to the office in writing in the sacristy. His consecration as the first Lutheran Tamil pastor took place on 20th December, 1733, in the Jerusalem Church. We do not know which missionary officiated but it might have been Dal, the senior in service among the six missionaries. He signed the official report of 31st December, 1733 first. For the benefit of the Government officials and other Europeans present, a German sermon was preached on Isaiah 66:21. During the singing of Luther's hymn, 'May God bestow on us His grace', the eleven assembled priests proceeded with the ordinand to the altar. Besides the six missionaries in Tranquebar. Sartorius from Madras, the two Danish preachers at the Zion church, and two ship's chaplains made up the number. Also a Dutch mission Tamil catechist had come from Nagapat-anam. Around the altar stood the town and country catechists, the latter 'openly making a vow to their new teacher'. The ordination address' was preached on John 10:12, 'I am the Good Shepherd'. Then they sang 'Now do we pray God the Holy Ghost' and the newly ordained pastor preached on Gal.4; 4-5. At the close he and his catechists took part in Holy Communion. The new pastor received presents from the Danish Commandant and the Vice-commandant. Pastor Aaron wrote a letter to the Mission Board on 9th January, 1734, the first of its kind from the young Church.

Aaron, was from Cuddalore and was born in 1698 or 1699.

He himself does not mention the year of his birth in his own biography. His father, Sorcanada Pillai, was a well-to-do merchant and as a child Aaron was brought up as a pious Hindu. He was influenced by the mission school, the catechist Savarimuttu from Tranquebar by and missionary Ziegenbalg. On 5th August, 1718, Ziegenbalg baptised him with the name Aaron. His sponsors in Baptism were Gruendler, Berlin and Mrs. Ziegenbalg. Aaron was employed as a teacher and married Rachel, the daughter of a school teacher and had three daughters and one son. Out of a second marriage there were two children who died before he died. In 1719 he became catechist of the city congregation and as evangelist he worked diligently in the villages Sandirapadi, Porreiar, Tileiadi, and Atupacam. After his ordination, he was installed in the Mayavaram circle, which at that time had over three hundred members. He had to travel on foot, because of economic reasons but he could not stand this without damage to his health; so a horse was bought for him. He died on 25th June, 1745, survived by his third wife and her two children. With the tolling of bells, the missionaries, the missionary doctor, the Danish clergymen and many Christians went to the Old Jerusalem Church and buried him there. There is another version which is probably right, that he was buried in the old Jerusalem cemetery. The funeral sermon was based on Rev. 2:10.

The missionaries testified that he was a faithful man and that his service was blessed. 'He was a man who knew how to conduct himself in such a way that the people, both Christians and heathen had not only an esteem for him but even love and trust'. He knew how to give good advice, could catechise very well, and he had courage to speak bodly. He seems to have had a good way of caring for souls and in suffering he remained cheerful and firm. The Indian clergy have cause to be proud of their first representative.

The second Indian pastor was Diogo who was the other candidate in the first election. The country congregation had grown to 2,469 souls by 1741. Diogo was esteemed by all the missionaries as a co-worker, and as 'entrance into the country was not open for Europeans', they had requested permission on 31st December, 1738 to ordain Diogo. Permission was granted on 22nd October, 1740, and the ordination took place on 28th December, 1741. It was considered pointless to have another election or a trial sermon. Instead of an examination the ordinaned was asked various questions on different theological topics including comparative religion. He was given a 'vocation

printed on paper after the Malabar sermon'. This was exactly the same as that given to Aaron. He was assigned to Tanjore, Tirupalatur, and Kumbakonam circles.

On the day of his ordination, the same hymns were sung as at Aaron's ordination. Besides the seven missionaries, the two Danish clergymen again assisted. Obuch seems to have officiated, but this is not certain. The ordination address was on Matt. 9: 35-38. The newly ordained pastor Diogo chose to preach on Acts 4:12. For lack of time he had to cut his sermon short. The service concluded with the Lord's Supper and the last two verses of 'In Dulce Jubilo'. In the afternoon there was a celebration in the assembly hall of the new school building.

Diogo was born in a Catholic family in 1709, was educated in the Lutheran mission school at Tranquebar and was received into the congregation on 17th November, 1713. He died in October, 1781 and was laid to rest in the old cemetery.

The third Lutheran pastor, Ambrose, was also a baptized Roman Catholic. He had been a catechist in Cuddalore. He was a student and then a teacher in a mission school and he was turned over to the English mission. At Aaron's death in 1746, Tranquebar requested him to be sent back, but the Missionaries in Cuddalore considered him indispensable and managed to retain him until 1748. With his wife and five children he came topsy turvy to Tranquebar on 30th September where he was given further training in theology. Then pastor Diogo, the catechists and the assistants were asked their opinion about Ambrose's suitability for the ministry. All testified, to his good skill and ability and said he was best fitted for the office and that since his youth he had lead an upright life.

The ordination took place on 9th April, 1749, in the Bethlehem Church in Prayer. Again the officials of the Government, three Englishmen, and the two Danish clergymen took part in the service. Pastor Diogo was also among the assistants. The service resembled the two previous ones. This time perhaps it was Wiedebrock who officiated. The newly ordained pastor preached on Luke 24: 46-47.

In the Mayavaram circle, he was connected with his colleague Diogo in intimate friendship. Later on, he became almost blind and had to be led about. An eye operation in 1773 could bring no help and completely blinded he would sit down with the pupils in Tranquebar and repeat with them what they had heard from the missionaries. He died on 8th February, 1777, and was buried in the cemetery at Porayar.

The fourth Tamil pastor was Philipp. He came from the

neighbourhood of Nagapatanam and must have been born about 1731. His father was the village headman and the boy's name was Pulleimuttu. He was abducted by a slave trader to Tranquebar at the age of ten. His mother searched for him and was directed to Tranquebar. When she saw the people coming out of the church, she asked what the building was. The House of God! Came the reply. Then the woman turned towards the church and prayed: 'O God, who art worshipped in this church, if you be true God, you must show me my child'. She found the child as he was about to be dragged to a ship. She demanded that the boy be freed. Again she went to the church, raised both hands high and said: 'O Lord, You who are adored in this church, if You make my child free in ten days, I and my children will come to Your church and I shall be Your slave'. Within the ten days he was set free but the mother did not keep her vow and made a thank-offering to the idols. Then in a dream she saw a figure or a form, similar to the preacher, and heard him say: 'You said that you would come with your children to our House. Why then did you not come?' From there the way led to Tranquebar, with her children in 1741.

That year they were all baptized, on September 5. A European benefactor had already given these children Christian names, in anticipation of their baptism. So Pulleimuttu became Philipp. Klein took an interest in the youth and helped him to become a teacher. In October 1757 he was made catechist over the town congregation and next he became Pastor for the country congregation, now grown to 3,500 souls. The trial sermon and other tests he came through well. Kohlhoff senior, who had baptized him, ordained him with the assistance of eleven clergymen, on 28th December, 1772. The Danish Governor clothed the new pastor with a complete new outfit from head to foot. He did not spare himself during his 16 years of service. Early in 1788 his health broke down and on 4th February he went home to his Lord. Klein preached the funeral sermon as he had already done for the brethren Ambrose and Diogo.

The fifth country preacher, Rajappen was ordained in 1778. He achieved great things in the southern tip of the land as did Pastor Sattyanathan, whom Schwartz ordained on 26th December, 1790. Thus the first Indian pastors also had a share in the work in Tirunelveli.

It would be unreasonable to expect that the first fourteen Lutheran pastors and the catechists of the old Tranquebar mission were in every respect perfect. One teacher and assistant Catechist Muttiappan, swindled others out of money and jewels

and disappeared. Another assistant had to be suspended because he had taken part in the slave traffic. Also the 'blameless' pastors Diogo and Ambrosius gave cause for complaint. The famous catechist Rajanaikan, who had brought hundreds to the church, had debts, mostly due to drinking, through which the missionaries were put to indescribable grief. Supervision, guidance and encouragement were needed by the pastors, as much as by the teachers and catechists just as in every country.

All of the first fourteen pastors were caste people. The first adi-dravida was not ordained till 1890. This was Pastor B. Samuel, the pastor of Manikraman, who was also beaten for his faith.

CHAPTER XIV

RAJA-GURU

Christian Friedrich Schwartz was one of the great men of the Tranquebar Mission and of Indian Church history. Bishop Stephen Neill calls him 'a prince among men'. On the centenary of his death this outstanding man was remembered in Tanjore by a large procession from St Peter's Church, where he is buried, to Christ Church, which he built. Schwartz was a patriarchal personality and enjoyed almost prophetic authority. Though it may have been an exaggeration, it shows the extent of his authority that both Christians and non-Christians used to say, 'whom Father Schwartz blesses, he is blessed ; whom he curses, he is cursed'.

His life was lived for India and without a break he worked from 1750 to 1798. He is said to have baptized more than 2,000 people and it is a typical example of the blindness of many of his contemporaries that in 1793 in the House of Commons, one who knew Schwartz stated that he had never made more than one convert.

Many dates are given for his birthday. Actually he was born in Sonnenburg in Prussia, on 8th October, 1726 and baptized on 27th October. His father was a respectable master baker. While at the high school at Keusterin, his parents could give him very little support and he helped himself by getting free board and tuition. Thus he learned to be economic and contented. For him, as for Heinrich Cordes and other missionaries, this was a healthy preparation for life in India. At the age of twenty he went to the university where also he had to practice strict economy.

In Halle Schwartz met Schultze, also a native of Sonnenburg. For his studies in Halle, Schwartz had little money and sometimes ran into debt. In spite of this, he never had to suffer. In Francke's orphanage, he had free board and taught in the German school and was appointed to supervise the Greeks who were studying there. He studied theology with great zeal.

Schultze had requested Schwartz to learn Tamil, so that he might help him technically in the printing of the Tamil Bible. Schwartz at first had no inclination for this but later he was willing. The study of Tamil was for him a very great encouragement and from that time on he often realized that some day he might receive a call to India.

The printing of the Tamil Bible did not materialize but the call to India did come. This was probably in March, 1749. At the same time the position as pastor north of Halle was offered him. He consulted his parents. They would have liked to have seen him serve at home, but did not wish to hinder him if he was certain of the will of God. He accepted the call to India. How whole heartedly his father released him appears from his words at their leave-taking, ' Forget your father's house '. The son was to devote himself solely to his life task in India which he did and never returned to his father's house nor to Europe.

In September he underwent his examination in Copenhagen. On the 17th he was ordained. He visited his colleagues Poltzenhagen, Huettemann and Ziegenbalg, son of the pioneer missionary, living in Copenhagen as professor of mathematics since 1740. On October 20th, he went once more to Halle and on November 4th set out for London which he reached on December 8th. The ship sailed on 29th January, 1759. Each missionary had to pay fifty pounds for the voyage. On July 17th, they landed in Cuddalore, and on the evening of the 30th entered Tranquebar.

To narrate Schwartz's life and work in India would mean to write another biography. But here we emphasise a few main facts. First of all it must be kept in mind that Schwartz was sent out to India as a Tranquebar missionary. Later on, he became an ' English missionary ', and signed himself as Swartz. He remained in Tranquebar from 1759 to 1762. On his arrival, the congregations in Tranquebar and Porayar numbered 1,674 Tamil and 323 Portuguese Christians. The country congregation had 3,555 members, divided into five circles. Schwartz and his two colleagues arrived at a time of quiet growth. With Poltzenhagen he boarded with Kohlhoff.

Schwartz was able to preach in Tamil on Matt. 11: 25-30 in the large Jerusalem Church on November 22nd. He had already begun Tamil in Halle and as soon as he reached the field from morning almost until evening, he worked on the language. For years he read as many Hindu books as possible and thus acquired a mastery of the language and a remarkable knowledge of Hinduism.

In Tranquebar Schwartz learned to know Fabricius who was in Tranquebar from May 1st to July 8th, 1754. He also witnessed the arrival of the Herrnhuter in Tranquebar. In 1760, he travelled from Tranquebar to Nagapatanam and Ceylon, to serve the spiritually neglected Lutherans. His name was 'especially great and beloved on the whole west coast of Ceylon, not only among Lutherans, but also among the Reformed, and among the Malabar Christians'. He was on tour nearly six months.

After his return to Tranquebar, he experienced a painful surprise. A bride had arrived for him, of whose existence he knew nothing and didn't want to know anything. She was already forty years old and thus older than Schwartz. In Copenhagen they insisted that Schwartz had requested a wife. Francke Junior did not believe this and had crossed Schwartz's name off the list. Schwartz wrote to Francke on 16th October, 1760, that he had never requested any 'such person'. If he had thought about marrying, he would have applied to Francke. This person he would never marry! Because of the reports about her on the way out, when she had behaved offensively, none of the missionaries would take her into his house. Even if that had not been the case, Schwartz would not have married her though he had nothing against the principle of marriage for missionaries. In 1766 he intented to marry in Tranquebar but his work in Tiruchirapalli prevented him. But he was opposed to having a wife forced upon him.

Unfortunately his health was often poor and yet three quarters of his period of service still lay before him outside Tranquebar. Tranquebar had been his training ground but Schwartz had always longed to work in Tamilnad proper.

As a real evangelistic missionary, he let no opportunity pass to speak with people. Sometimes backsliders oppressed his heart. 'Rajanaiken will not give up his drinking'. Two Catechists left the service in 'wretched conditions'. As Schwartz received money for his services he put it all into the work. Neither Copenhagen nor Halle understood why he remained in Tiruchirapali. He had not been sent there by the proper authorities or with the consent of any of the Board

members. Also the Danish missionary, Maderup, in Tranquebar said that Schwartz had settled down among a strange people and religion and that to return to Tranquebar would be very hard and perhaps impossible for him. Maderup thought, that Schwartz, like Kiernander, should have settled down in a Danish place. The other brethren in Tranquebar, however, voted that he should remain in Tiruchirapalli.

Schwartz wanted to remain a Danish missionary. After much correspondence a solution was found. Francke feared that service as an English missionary would lead to religious confussion. In Copenhagen they wished Schwartz to consider himself one with the Danish missionaries.

Schwartz could at any time return to the Tranquebar mission. He could continue to administer the country congregations in the neighbourhood of Tranquebar. There could be no question about a change of Confession. Schwartz thanked the English Society for their resolution, 'to take the mission in Trichinopoly under their protection'. The Society functioned as a patron. According to the existing laws, they could not acquire any landed properties in India. To Schwartz his confessional stand seemed completely assured. Schwartz made the concession of using the Book of Common Prayer when serving the English garrison congregation.

In Tiruchirapalli Schwartz took his stand as a Lutheran. He now accepted a salary, which went into the mission treasury and made possible the calling of a second missionary. Halle agreed to this but Copenhagen feared that the English work might be a hindrance to his chief calling— 'to take care of the poor heathen with all power'. The fears were unjustified for after Ziegenbalg, no other missionary went as much among the heathen as did Schwartz. He even learned Hindustani, the official language, so as to be able to speak of the Gospel with the Nabob and the high ranking men in his court. Every afternoon he gave public addresses. The catechists increased in number and he worked to strengthen them in constantly witnessing with joyfulness. The spiritual care of the Europeans really was for the good of the mission work which suffered under the bad example of the irreligious Europeans.

He gathered the European children into a school. Every Saturday afternoon he visited the military hospital and as much as possible he was with the sick and the dying. Many a one who had lived without Christ was helped to die in Him. A change took place in the attitude of the garrison. Sixty soldiers formed a group to visit the poor and the sick. Every evening

the group gathered for devotions in the church. First they sang for half an hour, then Schwartz came and read the Scriptures to them. They knelt down together to pray, after which some of the soldiers remained and had some music. The old Kohlhoff, when he saw this could not overcome his astonishment. There was nothing like it in all India. How much good was done and how much evil was prevented. The visitors, Kohlhoff and Gericke, testified: 'He alone does the work of several missionaries and we have found more here than we could have imagined'.

In Tiruchirapalli he worked for ten years and founded a congregation. But his most successful period of work began in Tanjore, after he had already served twenty-three years. Here he lived and worked from 1772 to 1798, and became the *Raja Guru* or 'Royal priest' as the Tamilians called him. In Tanjore Schwartz had full freedom to preach. He had access to the King who had a real inclination towards the Christian faith though his surroundings kept him from coming to a decision. He said to Schwartz: 'Padre, I trust you completely, because you are not open to bribery'. Schwartz experienced much trouble during the political disturbances and wars. In this sterile ground he worked steadily. He built two churches.

Schwartz enjoyed great authority. On one occasion 65,000 inhabitants had left the territory of the King of Tanjore to escape oppression. Everything had been attempted to persuade them to return to their homes but in vain. Then Schwartz was requested by the Governor to mediate. This he did and to help the land and the people he brought them back, encouraged them to cultivate their fields and prevailed upon the King to dismiss the minister who had caused the oppression. Once when the peasants refused to deliver any more rice because oppression and fraud had become unbearable, the city was almost forced to capitulate. Then Schwartz stepped in and what the Government could not achieve, he could. Soon the bandies were once more rolling into the town. Schwartz guaranteed and carried through proper payment.

Better known and more extensive is his mission as peacemaker. He went as emissary to Hyder Ali. It was as a simple pastor that he stood before the mighty and arrogant Hyder Ali, drunken with victory. He received the peacemaker in a friendly manner and permitted him to preach to the many hundreds of Germans, Frenchmen, and Tamil Christians, and administer Holy Communion. In fact, he would really have liked to keep Schwartz with him and promised to build him a chapel. Schwartz could

not accept this request. Then Hyder Ali gave orders 'to let padre Schwartz travel about everywhere without hindrance and show him respect and kindness'. Unhindered Schwartz often crossed enemy lines during the war and carried on his work of peace. When the English wanted to enter diplomatic relations with Hyder Ali, he refused to accept any representatives except Schwartz: 'Let them send me the Christian, he will not cheat me'.

Schwartz was intimately connected with the first Christian Tamil poet, Vedanayagam who was born as a Catholic in Tirunelveli on 7th September, 1774. Schwartz received his father, Davasagayam Pillai, with his family into the Lutheran church. He was astonished at the intelligence of young Vedanayagam, and asked his father's permission to take him to Tanjore. The boy was only twelve years old. He remained with Schwartz for two or three years and an intimate life-long friendship developed between him and prince Sirfojee, another pupil of Schwartz. When Schwartz rested in the afternoon Vedanayagam would read the Bible to him. Once Schwartz was telling him about the splendour of heaven and the happiness of those who would live there. The lad remarked that he hoped he would be with Schwartz in heaven.

In 1789, he sent Vedanayagam to Dr. John at Tranquebar. There he was led deeply into the Holy Scriptures for four years and he also learned English and German. Then he returned to Tanjore and although he was only nineteen years old, Schwartz made him headmaster of the school. We cannot describe his great achievements as poet and singer any further here but wish to make clear that Schwartz greatly influenced the life of this poet. Vedanayagam was thus a fruit of the Tranquebar Mission. At the age of eighty he went to the 150th Jubilee of the mission at Tranquebar to sing his poetic rendering of Ziegenbalg's theology.

It was a rememberable thing that the King of Tanjore on his death bed appointed Schwartz as guardian and trustee of the ten year old heir Sirfojee, saying, 'This is your son, I deliver him into your hands'.

The Hindu Raja Sirfojee wrote this verse in English on Schwartz's tomb in Tanjore.

> Firm wast thou, humble and wise
> Honest, pure, free from disguise,
> Father of orphans, widows' support
> Comfort in sorrow of every sort

To the benighted, dispenser of light
Doing and pointing to that which is right
Blessing to princes, to people, to me
May I, my father, be worthy of thee
Wisheth and prayeth thy
Sarabojee.

Besides this, Sirfojee had a marble memorial set up in the Fort church. This shows Schwartz on his death bed. Gericke stands at his head with a Bible in his hand. In front of him the Raja and two of his attendants are bowing. Underneath is the inscription: '....His natural vivacity won the affection, as his unspotted probity and purity of life alike commanded the reverence of the Christian, Mohammedan, and Hindu. For sovereign princes, Hindu and Mohammedan, selected this humble pastor as the medium of political negotiation with the British Government, and the very marble that here records his virtues was raised by the liberal affection and esteem of the Raja of Tanjore, Maharaja Sirfojee'.

Even the directors of East India Company sent a marble memorial to India in 1807. In Schwartz's home church in Germany a simple memorial tablet remembers the great son of that city and of the Lutheran Church. It was on February 13th, 1798, that the eyes of the faithful Schwartz closed forever. Along with many people, Raja Sirfojee came to his death bed. On the way to his funeral people were too sad to sing. He was interred in the church.

Much good has been said about Schwartz. Bishop Heber calls him one of the most active and fearless as well as successful missionaries who have appeared since the apostles. And as his biographer, W. Germann, writes, 'this greatest missionary of modern times was a son of the Lutheran church, yes, of the Lutheran Church of Germany! God be praised that He has given us such leaders and forerunners in the mission work!'

CHAPTER XV

THE MASTER OF TAMIL

The Tranquebar Mission showed the value of thorough study and mastery of the native language. Nearly all the missionaries mastered Tamil with an impressive devotion and to an astonishing degree.

The great scholar in Tamil was Johann Philipp Fabricius. Over against his art of translating, everything else that constitutes his life is less important. In this we also include his bad management in lending out money, which at an advanced age brought him three times into prison.

Fabricius studied in Jura and later in Halle for theology. He was twenty-nine years old when he landed in Cuddalore, on 28th August, 1740. The following March he preached his first Tamil sermon on John 1:29. In November 1742 he settled in Madras—and in the English mission enjoyed the same financial emoluments as all his brethren although the English Society experienced little joy from the mission and therefore had little desire to continue it. From 1778, Fabricius received nothing at all from England. In closing the account in 1765 he lists the total income for the year as fifty pounds, hardly 700 Rupees. All other financial needs for the English mission had to come if possible from Halle. The station account for 1764 brings forward a debt of 60 Pagodas (Rs. 3,600) and closes with a deficit of Rs. 5,300. Under the item ' kind donations from Europe ' there is not a pie, only the remark, ' not yet at hand '. From the beginning there was a lack of everything except debts.

Fabricius was a devoted shepherd of his new congregation. When he came to Madras there were 690 names in the Church record but he could find hardly 300 people. In 30 years the number rose to 2,200. About his way of dealing with the Madrasis he writes: ' We have learned from experience of the peculiar nature of the temperament of the people here. Friendliness, patience, the good example with loving instruction are the best means to accomplish something worthwhile among them. We must deal lovingly with them and mix kindness with the necessary dignity and so treat their errors, great though they may be, in the manner of a sympathetic physician and try to help them back to the right path. They will then also see in us a good example of humility, denial, love, and honesty, as well as faithfulness in our office, and we shall have won much, as the Word of God strikes their consciences '.

Fabricius was not just a pastor of the congregation. Every week he went out among the non-Christians for several days, from morning until evening in order to get acquainted with them and make contacts with many people. He did not aim at winning many just by preaching to them. To him making contacts was most important, so that he could engage in conversation and gradually lead them to a decision. His house was always open for visitors. Even Jews visited him.

The wars between the colonial powers extended as far as India. They meant much suffering for the country and brought about much difficulty and disturbance in the life of Fabricius. The bombardment of Madras, the landing of enemy troops, pillage, evacuation, and life in exile brought much sorrow into the life of the congregation and of their shepherd.

His specialty as missionary lay in languages. He mastered the literary Tamil and the colloquial language to a high degree of perfection, and out of his profound knowledge of the poetic language he was able to enrich the colloquial language. Outstanding among his literary works are the following: Arndt's *Little Garden in Paradise* (in Portuguese); *The Mirror of the Papacy*, a discussion of Roman Catholicism, expanding under French protection; a sermon-book and a Tamil grammar printed in two editions.

His reputation rests on his three chief works: The Tamil-English Dictionary, the Hymnbook, and the translation of the Bible. We are well informed about the origin of the dictionary. Fabricius was able to take over what others had already worked out—Ziegenbalg, Schultze, Walther, Sartorius, Geister, Obuch. With the help of Breithaupt, Fabricius was able to get the first dictionary printed. The printing began in 1775. In 1777, twenty sheets were printed and in 1779, the book was ready in print as *A Malabar and English Dictionary*. It contained 9,000 Tamil words and the second edition appeared in 1809. Dr. Rottler then continued the work further and expanded it to 37,000 words. Dr. Winslow, who based his work on Fabricius, included 67,000 words. In these two dictionaries the Fabricius book was quoted as the 'Old Dictionary'.

Fabricius's special love was for the hymnbook. Tranlating hymns is very difficult. Many have tried it, but no one succeeded as well as Fabricius did.

Besides the Fabricius Hymnbook six others appeared in Tranquebar: One with 48 hymns in 1713, a reprint in 1721, the third edition with 160 hymns in 1723, by Schultze, the fourth edition with almost 300 hymns by Pressier and Walther, the fifth edition in 1756, and the *Hymnologia Tamulica* with 307 hymns in 1779. In Madras the Fabricius Hymnbook appeared in 1774 and it soon displaced all the others.

When Fabricius was in trouble, he would sing. He suffered much. When he had to evacuate Madras in 1747, he first began to praise God through hymns. He did not merely translate. His hymns came from the depths of his heart. In 1756 there were more than a hundred hymns.

Fabricius felt that the hymns in the Tranquebar book had too many defects and were difficult to understand. According to him hymns 'should be a special means of awakening'. So he took care that in his hymns, besides the correct rhyme 'should also have a simple style and only common words'. He was convinced, in spite of his modesty, that 'at the right time his hymns would recommend themselves'. They did. When he was old, Fabricius continued to produce Tamil hymns, which were printed in Tranquebar. The English Society 'printed our hymnbook unchanged and the missionaries still use it today,' writes Cordes in 1852.

The chief work of the Sanayasi-Guru was his translation of the Bible, which he carried on very quietly. Before him Ziegenbalg and the other missionaries had already worked on the translation. The Roman Catholics, after 200 years, had not yet published a translation. Their translation of the four Gospels and the Acts appeared only in 1857 at Pondicherry. The Dutch in Ceylon had already made attempts in 1670 but they printed their first New Testament only in 1759 at Colombo. Thus the first translation of the Bible in India was in Tamil which was undertaken by Ziegenbalg and carried out by the Tranquebar Mission. The Tamil Bible is also the first large prose work in Tamil.

Ziegenbalg announced his determination, to translate the Word of God into Tamil, on 22nd August, 1708. By 31st March, 1711, he had completed the New Testament. In the Old Testament he came as far as The Book of Ruth. In the word for God he followed the Roman Catholic usage of 'Sarwesuren'. The linguistically gifted Walther later on introduced 'Parabaren' which became typical for Lutheran translations and church language.

There were language controversies among the missionaries. We must give the missionaries credit for their seriousness about the work and sense of responsibility which originated these differences about language and style. Ziegenbalg's style was described as 'half poetical and elegant'. On Schultze's revision of the New Testament, Zeglin's comment was, 'most miserable'. The mild Fabricius refers to the work as 'shameless'. Fabricius' own work also was criticized later on by the English and by the Germans.

The poet Vedanayagam expressed himself in a writing against the many 'improvements' of the missionaries and defended the 'Golden Translation of the Immortal Fabricius'. When the American Percival of Jaffna in Ceylon offered Vedanayagam a good sum of money if he would write something for the new

translation, the old man remained indignantly silent. His son spoke for him: 'the honourable missionary must excuse his aged father; they were like the Jews who had seen the first temple and wept over the second one'. Of course, the poet knew the defects of the Fabricius version.

By order of the Mission Board in Leipzig, a stereotyped edition was completed in 1893. Senior Schwartz worked with Ihlefeld and Handmann together with the pastors Samuel and Pakiam and the school teacher Pakiam, to improve the spelling, the century-old archaic grammatical forms and the parallel passages wherever this was necessary. They did not permit themselves to make other changes. For, as Senior Schwartz wrote in 1886, 'we would have succeeded in this no better than the others did so far. Because, even if the translation of Fabricius, like any human production, is not without defects, it is nevertheless an almost unsurpassable work, which the worthy man produced with much prayer and during much distress and suffering. I am filled with astonishment on closely examining the text and comparing it with the original, to see how every word and particle is carefully taken into consideration, and nothing is overlooked. Nevertheless, the translation is in no way stiff but flows and reads easily. This is a work, yes, a gift, for which our Tamil church can be thankful and which she may always honour, and diligently use.'

When Fabricius had looked through several chapters and corrected them, he gathered brahmins, sudras, and pariahs under a large tree in front of his house and had his catechist read to them the translation and ask whether they had understood, what errors there were and how these should be improved. If Father Fabricius found any of the objections warranted, the catechist had to make a note. On the next day he would go through it once more with a language pandit and together carefully weigh whether and how far the proposed changes were correct. When the revision had proceeded so far in Madras, then the brethren in Tranquebar were given a glimpse into it. There Zeglin, together with the Government translator Daniel, who also knew German, looked through and considered everything. A thousand copies of the first edition of this revised translation of the New Testament were printed in 1772. Later, another edition was printed in Tranquebar. It was said in praise of this work that it was intelligible to all readers. This Fabricius Bible was much in demand and bought at a good price.

This was the 'Golden Translation' and is still today in spite of the welcome efforts for a modern translation. The Fabricius

Bible is for the Tamil Lutheran church, what Luther's Bible is to the congregations in Germany. Besides this, there are many very useful and very good modern translations, which one uses thankfully for purposes of study. The whole Bible was printed in Tranquebar in 1796 although Fabricius did not live to see it. He died on 23rd January, 1791.

The Synod of 1901 would have liked a thorough revision. But only the 'most necessary grammatical improvements' were made in the New Testament. A. Gehring and the outstanding linguist, Pastor N. Samuel, undertook this.

CHAPTER XVI

UNPLEASANT INTERLUDE

A great surprise awaited the missionaries of Tranquebar on 2nd July, 1760. The ship *Graf Moltke* arrived from Europe with fourteen missionaries, but not from Halle or Copenhagen. They were members of the Herrnhuter Brother congregation (Moravians). Their actual goal was the Nicobar Islands. No one knew about them, or had reckoned on their coming. There were no preparations for their arrival. The Tranquebar missionaries were confused. Even more so because they had just sent Poltzenhagen to the Nicobar Islands in September 1756 and he had died there on 25th November, the same year. This fact is not usually mentioned.

We will not tell the story of the Herrnhuter attempt on the Nicobars here. This may be read in H. P. Thompson's *Into all Lands*, in Latourette, in Fenger, or in other mission histories. Here we are only concerned with the consequences of this Herrnhuter settlement for the Tranquebar mission. In the words of the Herrnhuter historian Mueller, 'inevitably it came to a conflict with the Danish-Halle mission. The brethren lacked a clear, unmistakable direction from home by which the conflict could have been prevented. They had been directed to conduct themselves cautiously in their relations with the Halle missionaries, but, on the other hand, the Halle mission work had been represented to them as mostly superficial and therefore in need of help. They believed the talk of the Company people who liked to state that the converts were worse than the heathen, so that Bishop Johannes von Wattewille, on sending out the brethren said 'if you could bring some life into the baptized natives there, how happy I should be!' Therefore misunder-

standings and even serious friction with the Danish-Halle mission could hardly fail to appear. Thus the years after 1760 were filled with saddening quarrels. . . . '

We have quoted this judgment of the Herrnhuter in detail, because it presents the state of affairs, and clears the Tranquebar missionaries from the suspicion that they were the cause of the trouble.

How did it happen that the Moravians settled down in Tranquebar? Count Zinzendorf had been diverted by the Danish king from his original plans and directed to the group of islands of Nicobar. The king wanted colonists there. The assurance was also given that these Danish Islands were already in a state of promising development!

Unfortunately, the relations between Halle and Herrnhut were not good. Although Zinzendorf had lived in Halle for many years, a quite different type of pietism developed in Herrnhut, from that which was cultivated at that time at Halle. Therefore in the instructions given from Herrnhut for the negotiations with Copenhagen in 1758, it is mentioned in point No. 8: 'Since there is a Danish Mission in Tranquebar directed by certain people (Halle), who do not love us and vex us everywhere as much as they can, that they be given to understand that they must not disturb us, and in case there should be any hostile reports about us from them, nothing should be resolved until they have heard our side of the story.'

There was no possibility of travelling from Europe to the Nicobars directly. So the Danish colony in Tranquebar commended itself as a base. The Brethren requested permission to establish a settlement also in Tranquebar. A Royal order of 5th January, 1759, sanctioned this request, among the privileges for the Nicobars and expressed the joy of the king over the spiritual provisions for the people there. We shall let one of the Herrnhuters speak for himself, 'nothing was said in the order about Tranquebar. The king could not be anxious for another missionary enterprise when the Royal Danish Mission was already there. A second royal order came a week later, in which the same privileges were extended to the Moravians at Tranquebar and other Danish settlements, although it was added, 'as long as our Asiatic Company considers it useful and necessary'. But the Asiatic Company. . . .suppressed this condition in the 'Document of Affirmation', which their president, Graf-Moltke and the directors. . . .handed in on 19th January, 1759. It was certainly the intention of the King that this freedom was intended only for the work on the Nicobar Islands,

not at Tranquebar. Count Zinzendorf did not reckon Tranquebar as a mission field, but only as a base for the work in the Nicobar Islands, because he was repugnant to start a mission at a place where one already existed.

This does credit to Zinzendorf. But we have already heard what Bishop Wattewille said to the Brethren on their leaving, which plainly contradicted the admonitions to the Herrnhuter to avoid everything which might endanger peace with the Halle missionaries. The fact is, the Brethren were not careful enough and justified themselves in starting mission work in Tranquebar. They were tempted to do this, because for eight years they were trying to get to the Nicobar Islands. They sat around in Tranquebar because there was no chance of a ship. This was not the fault of the Herrnhuter.

Francke Junior was shocked. He wrote to Finkenhagen in Copenhagen: 'another piece of news has hit me very hard and has caused me no little grief on account of the mission, namely, the news about the privilege which the Herrnhuter, no doubt by promising all sorts of advantages, seem to have obtained surreptitiously, to set up an establishment in Tranquebar. We know with what intrigues this party always appears and can easily foresee....they will also take great care to stir up the mission congregations....Wherever they spread their cause, in the name of the Saviour, it is their way to seek the pliable and not sufficiently firm souls and try to draw them over, thus tearing them out of their simple Christianity. In this way the good spirit in the congregations is suppressed and dampened, of which I could give examples from countless places.' In another letter he accuses count Zinzendorf of irresponsibility and even deceit, and regrets that the Herrnhuters had trumpeted all over Switzerland and other places that the direction of the Danish Mission had been transferred to them.

One can write or read about these things only with a heavy heart. It requires very little imagination to picture the feelings of the missionaries in Tranquebar on 2nd July, 1760. The leader of the fourteen Herrnhuters was the former merchant C. J. Stahlmann. There were two theologians among them: A. G. Voelker and Christian Buttler. The following year, on 27th August, came another batch, five bachelors and four couples. Although it is quite understandable it is sad to report that the missionaries acted with hostility to these strangers and wanted to have absolutely nothing to do with them.

The Mission Board in Copenhagen was no less aroused, for they had been bypassed. They obtained a Royal order that

the Moravians should go to the Nicobar Islands within a year or evacuate Tranquebar and return to Europe. This harsh order, however, was contrary to the granted privilege. They were supposed to have brought ample funds with them. Schwartz mentions, Rs. 50,000. About a mile from the city, they bought a garden near Porayar for Rs, 3,300. This was the so-called 'Brother-garden'. The Brethren planted trees, kept a hundred head of cattle, dug a well, planted rice, while their artisans found so much to do in Tranquebar and the nearby Dutch and English settlements that they had more commissions than they could carry out. Also the doctor, Andreas Betschler, was able to follow his calling. They enjoyed good relations with the Danish Governor and with most of the Europeans and the Danish clergymen. All the members of the community lived in one house and ate at one table.

In Tranquebar they were instructed to set up a model brother-congregation. The Moravians restrained themselves as much as possible and did not deliberately work among the non-Christians or the baptized Christians. But they did make contacts and the latent danger of a split in the congregation was always present. Soon a report went to Halle that several Catechists, among them Rajanayakan, had entered into relations with the theologian Voelker. The Moravians had been very familiar with him, had him sit down with them and drink tea and coffee, and on another occasion also served breakfast for him, and so he 'was completely bewitched. . . . Rajanayakan and his brother Sinappan, whom we had to suspend because of much unfaithfulness and offences which they created recently, were actually willing to bring the Christians under their care to the Moravian community. They were not accepted, mainly because Voelker could speak very little Tamil. His two interpreters were raised in a Tamil school and instructed by us in German. May the Lord himself protect His Church here in grace, and defend us both from the wolves and also from the little foxes, who terribly destroy and damage the vineyard.' The missionaries openly stated that they had the impression that the Moravians intended to settle permanently.

The theologian Voelker had explained to the Tamilian Solomon, 'that there was no difference between the doctrine of the Brethren and that of the Lutheran Church. The only difference was that they believed the doctrine with the heart and had experienced it in their hearts !' The Brethren had hardly been in Tranquebar for fourteen days, when Buttler visited the Halle missionary Peter Dame and asked him for some Portuguese books from the

mission press. Dame explained to him that he would have to consult his colleagues. Three weeks later Buttler requested him to have the 'watchwords' of the Moravians bound by the mission bookbinder. Dame sent them back unbound with a note in the name of his colleagues that they had doubts about binding the 'watchwords', because they found in them some expressions which were offensive.

Better relations came about through illness and the medical help rendered on request. The Moravian doctor Betschler was able to help Missionary Wiedebrook in 1763—who after his recovery paid a friendly visit to the Brother-garden on 14th February, 1764. Other Tranquebar missionaries also called the capable Betschler for help, unfortunately in two cases too late. On 22nd October, 1770, missionaries Kollhoff and Maderup went to the Brother-garden on a visit. Zeglin, however, continued to be aloof and Schwartz in Tanjore was considered to be hostile.

In Germany, Dr. Koober made a trip from Herrnhut to Halle in order to put in a request that the Moravians in Tranquebar might not be hindered in their wholesome intention to carry on the Saviour's cause. Prof. Francke Jr. refused to see him. He sent word, 'that Prof. Francke had no desire for an interview because the Moravians had represented previous conversations in the wrong light'.

At the end of 1767, twenty-three persons were living in the Brother-garden. Six adults had died and two children had been born. These, two girls, grew up in the Brother-garden and eventually got married there.

After eight years, the Brethren finally got a ship bound for Sumatra which was to touch at the Nicobars. How happy the Brethren were. On 6th August, 1766, the first Moravians set out. These six bachelors, they arrived at the harbour in the Nicobars on August 19th, and erected two frame houses, which they had brought with them.

Altogether twenty-three single Moravian Brethren settled on the island Nancowary. What they suffered during the twenty wearisome years of fruitless effort does not concern us here. If their enterprise was fruitless, their unconditional readiness for sacrifice should win the respect of all Christians. About the present flourishing condition of the work under the direction of Bishop John Richardson, a son of the Island of Car Nicobar, other books have been published.

Eventually the Brother-garden in Tranquebar was abandoned. By 1801 all the Moravians still living were back in Europe.

PART III

DETERIORATION AN RECONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER XVII

SPIRITUAL PARALYSIS

'So the once great, famous, flourishing, blessed Tranquebar Mission is nearing its end, as I, the last German Missionary close my eyes.' Thus wrote the last Danish-Halle missionary, August Friedrich Caemmerer, alone in Tranquebar on 19th September, 1834. He had come in 1791 and died on 22nd October, 1837.

At the plenary session of the Lutheran Federation in Hannover in 1952, the Rev. Joel Lakra in the official report gave the following opinion about the result of the Tranquebar Mission: 'The only mistake which was made at this time....was to miss the opportunity to establish an indigenous Church, which could thrust firm roots into the soil of India. The result of this was that when the number of Lutheran Missionaries gradually decreased, the majority of the newly converted Lutherans joined other missions such as the Church Missionary Society of England.'

One can look at it in this way. Perhaps the decline would not have taken place if, in spite of the prevailing conditions and great difficulties, an independent and self-supporting Church had been built up. The very virtues of the Tranquebar missionaries became a cause for many mistakes. Fully appreciating the problems of the pioneers and without doing the missionaries an injustice, one can say that the mission was too much like an anxious mother keeping her grown-up daughter under her supervision as long as possible without training her to stand on her own feet. The times and the circumstances make it clear to us why they did not go far enough, according to our modern ideas, in the direction of spontaneous expansion, self-government, and self-support. If the tie to a mission with its roots in Europe had not been so strong among the workers, in the management, and in finances, an autonomous Church would have come about and the disintegration of the substantial results of the Tranquebar mission might perhaps have been avoided. Finally the causes lay outside of India!

During the period of decline there were still violent quarrels between the mission and the Government. They had much to criticize in each other. Missionary John accused the Govern-

ment of chicanery, and Christians of the village of Sandirapadi were obliged to perform forced labour at the festival of an idol by 'Christian' officials. But this did not destroy the mission.

Nor do we agree with the opinion that it was the struggles with representatives of the Roman Catholic Church that had a weakening effect. These contests started at the very beginning and increased as the Evangelical Church gained in numbers and influence. This constant struggle took a lot of energy but it also strengthened the Church.

Nor is the fault to be found in the personalities of the missionaries, though these were not ideal figures. Their mistakes and confusion, their sins and weaknesses have not been covered up in this book. Even such a 'monster of a missionary' as Fruechtenicht, who played the role of an unwelcome guest in Tranquebar from 1799-1802 and was not even able to come to Church sober for Christmas, could not have been called a direct cause of the decline. But the time of his arrival dates the real starting point of the decline.

It was the roots that were unhealthy. The home Church failed the missionaries. When the Mother Church no longer took the Bible seriously and the spiritual life in Europe became cold, the Tranquebar Mission was paralyzed.

In England Deism had arisen, in France it was Naturalism, and in Germany, Rationalism and Neology. This was a systematical attempt to force the opinions of the natural man into the province of faith in revelation and Christian ethics. According to the definition of a leading theologian of that period, 'Rationalism was a method of thinking which did not believe in supernatural revelation but only in the truth of the philosophical teaching of religion'. One wanted to hear nothing of sin and grace. The Saviour of sinners was made to appear as a teacher of virtue. Christian faith was replaced by rational conviction and everything depended on pure reason. The churches became lecture halls and the pulpits became professorial chairs. Everything, including hymns, was made to fit the taste of the times, and private confession ceased. Confirmation became a vow to live virtuously and the Catechism was watered down. When the missionary Sperschneider was ordained at Halle in 1818, he was not obliged to subscribe to the Lutheran Confessions. A social gospel was preached.

The universities were also filled with this spirit. The miracles and even the Resurrection were explained away. Christ was no longer viewed as the Son of God, but as a man and nothing more. Schwartz wrote at that time, 'the condition of the Church in

Germany is very sad. They have discovered a Gospel of which Paul and the other apostles knew nothing. The costly sacrifice of atonement by Jesus and the powerful working of the Holy Spirit are rejected....' Even pietist Halle was attacked by this spirit, especially through its close connections with the university.

The Church as a whole had become indifferent to the mission and had not been able to overcome its self-sufficiency and introvertism. When the fire of pietism died down and the first enthusiasm of the undoubtedly pious men in Halle grew cold, the mission suffered. The old generous friends of the work had died and soon the contributions decreased, perhaps partly due to consequences of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. Wuerttemberg had formerly given the most support from among all the German states. The mission was ridiculed. What was the purpose of missions if the Vedas offered a worthier and purer knowledge of God, much higher than the humble conceptions of the Christians?

If there was to be mission work, its task should not be to save souls but, to make 'good people' and that could best be done through schools. The preaching about sin and redemption through the blood of Christ should cease. The aim should be to improve morals through culture and education.

From India came the call for new missionaries who were needed as much as money. Also from Copenhagen and England requests came to Halle to provide missionaries. Halle found this task of finding missionaries very difficult. Missionary John thought of making a trip home to Europe in order personally to recruit several capable co-workers, but this he could not do as the field would then be short of one missionary. He therefore wrote home in 1793: 'The continued existence of the mission now depends on getting fresh helpers, for we three intimately united brethren cannot remain together indefinitely. Another missionary would be a great comfort and help to us. But if there is not an upright man to be found for the mission, who shows his love to God also through brotherly love, then rather let us die out, than have wolves, who would only destroy the flock more quickly.'

Germany had plenty of young pastors, but, according to a contemporary, they all ran after benefices, and even begged for a parish, 'while the preacher was still living'. Because there were so few ready to go to India it looked as if the end of the century would also be the end of the Tranquebar Mission. Then they thought about getting under-graduates. The Tranquebar missionaries wrote to Copenhagen in 1797 that

not only young men from the universities but also less educated men from Europe might be sent as helpers. One might hope that with further guidance they might become competent for the work.

So great was the failure of the clergy, that the Board in Copenhagen was obliged to yield to this proposal. A fitting young man Daniel Schreyvogel was found in 1800. He had been an artisan and was prepared for service in the Mission Seminary of Jaenicke in Berlin. He came to Tranquebar in 1804 as a Catechist. In 1813 he was ordained in the Jerusalem Church, because, after John's death, Caemmerer would otherwise have been quite alone. When Schreyvogel went to Tiruchirapalli in 1826, Caemmerer was alone in Tranquebar.

Halle was not satisfied with this lowering of standards. Even in 1835, nine years after sending out the last missionary and four years after the aged Caemmerer had sat in Tranquebar alone, H. A. Niemeyer in Halle stated: 'What we demand of our missionaries is first of all scientific theological study. According to the original constitution of our mission, we sent no missionaries except such as have completed their theological studies and can pass a theological examination by a consistory or a theological board. We would prefer if the candidates who apply to us had already passed such an examination.' Such a principle is worthy of praise but it is questionable whether, in time of such great need, this principle could be maintained.

The more flexible English acted differently. They saw the need and acted accordingly, and did not insist upon college studies and theological examinations but on ability. And they were well served with these 'uneducated' missionaries from Jaenicke's Seminary in Berlin and from the Mission House in Basel. The Church Missionary Society sent out twenty-four missionaries during its first fifteen years, of which seventeen came from the Seminary of Jaenicke. In 1833, the C.M.S. employed thirty German missionaries from Basel. Halle failed in spite of the possibility of getting help. Flexibility was more important than their fine principles.

At this period the missionaries still depended more on Halle than on Copenhagen, where, from 1776 the Secretary of the Board, Mr. Hee-Wadum, was a declared opponent of the mission. He suspected any change of religion. He wrote to missionary John: 'Catholics and Jews who join our Church, take this step only to receive temporal benefits. My opinion is always that he, whoever he may be, who is disloyal to his religion never can or should be trusted....' This sweeping

statement also included the converts, who became 'disloyal to their religion' when they were baptized. On the other hand the leaders in Halle were faithful and upright in their attitude to the Bible, and confessed the crucified and risen Saviour and expected this Gospel to be preached to the people that they might be converted.

When Schultze took over the direction at Halle in 1785, there was quite a change. The mission magazine becomes more interesting; all sorts of curious matters are reported; observations about elephants and thermometers extend into pages. Schultze hoped, that friends of natural history would be interested. In 1785 Schultze wrote in the magazine: 'To the glory of the missionaries who have a taste for natural history and have achieved something in it as well as in mathematics and botany, I cannot fail to mention here, that beside the chief business of their important office, they try also to be useful to others in the above-named sciences and wish nothing more than that they may be in the future supported therein; in which it will be our concern to render all assistance from here. They are ready, as far as their work and means permit, to study and contribute to the knowledge of learned men in Europe. One of their wishes I must herewith recommend to all noble supporters of learning. In mathematics and in physics, not much can be achieved without good and exact instruments. To provide for these out of the mission treasury is difficult because of the other expenses which occur. We have already provided them with a telescope, microscope, thermometer, air pump, and an electrical machine but they still need a large terrestrial globe, as well as celestial one besides the latest works in natural history, newly invented instruments and mathematical instruments which would be very welcome. They have recommended that all missionaries coming out in future who have a taste for mathematics and nature study, be equipped with good instruments and that magnanimous supporters of good projects be found ready to contribute something for the fulfilment of these wishes. Such would certainly redound to the glory of God and the furtherance of the common welfare.'

The outstanding exponents of this progressive policy, were John and Rottler. Rottler's collection of plants, John's collection of shells, and the birds and insects collected by Dr. Klein were famous. Eight learned Societies offered them membership. John proposed to the Governor to lay out a Botanical Garden—he had already made one out of the mission-garden.

The former doubts which Francke Junior expressed in 1735,

that the missionaries might 'let the chief business lie and take more interest in curiosities' now proved to be justified.

Unfortunately the character of the school work also changed. More and more this became the chief concern of the mission. Obviously the criticism of the young Ringeltaube is correct: The missionaries are 'schoolmen, and wholly lack zeal for piety. Mission work is only a side line.' Even the good John had changed considerably so that Hee-Wadum himself had to reproach him: 'You write on 15th October, 1792, that at the beginning you were more narrow but now your ideas have become broader through your meditation and reading. You no longer find it good that certain passages of the Scriptures, "For God so loved the world....", are printed one after another in the booklet for evangelism. You write that for seventy years little has been taught in the mission but the catechism and that you would prefer that a catechism which is taken just from nature be introduced. You would rather that the Bible be not printed completely, but only extracts, and that the presses be kept busy with other writings. According to your present judgment, fields of knowledge for the general welfare and especially academic attainments, should be the chief qualities of a missionary, and should outweigh the catechism and all dogmatics. These points have troubled me very much.'

In Tranquebar rationalism came with John! As Schreyvogel wrote, the Bible became a book of fables. Heinrich Cordes, who came to Tranquebar in 1841, reported that the schools had lost their Christian character. 'Instead of the Catechism and other religious instructions, they had introduced a collection of one hundred mutilated Bible passages, in which neither the name Christ nor any specific Christian doctrine occurred. The first passage was the words of John 1:18: "No one hath seen God at any time"—everything else was left out. In this way all the passages from the Bible had been deprived of their Christian meaning.'

While the English stations observed the centenary of 1806 in their churches, in Tranquebar itself there was no celebration. This was due mainly to quarrels between the missionaries and the Colonial officials, who were not friendly with the rationalistically conducted mission.

It became worse. Through the Napoleonic wars the connections between Halle, Copenhagen, and India were severed. This is evident from the fact that between 1808 and 1815 no Reports were issued in Halle due to lack of material. In Tranquebar bitter suffering prevailed. On top of that, Tranquebar was

occupied on 13th May, 1801 and again on 13th February, 1808, by the English, because Denmark was in alliance with Napoleon. The needs of the Indians and of the missionaries increased and their debts grew alarmingly. At first they sought relief by dismissing many of the children from the school. Help also came from the King of Tanjore. Out of grateful memory of his teacher Schwartz, he paid the salaries for the country congregations outside the Danish territory for four years. In May, 1820, however, Caemmerer took an eventful step: he gave the eleven congregations belonging to Tranquebar, with their 1900 souls, eleven catechists, and eleven chapels, for which the monthly expenses were Rs. 150, temporarily to the English Mission in Tanjore, (the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge). When the S.P.C.K. withdrew from India, they offered these stations, which were known to be all Lutheran and part of the Tranquebar Mission, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. They had to maintain the missionaries who had been sent by the S.P.C.K. through Halle, until they died. Thus all the stations outside of Tranquebar were turned over in 1825 and about 20,000 Lutheran Christians became Anglicans. Neither they nor the missionaries were consulted. Halle was not asked but they would have been quite helpless had they thought of opposition.

The missionaries in Tranquebar had already lived for sometime on English money. Caemmerer and Schreyvogel lost courage, and in 1816 harboured the idea of turning the station over to the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, although after the return of Tranquebar to Denmark, they again had connections with the Mission Board and later on received thousands of Taler from Copenhagen and Halle. The Bishop of Calcutta, Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, had arrived there on 28th November, 1814. In February, 1816, he spent sometime in Tranquebar and for almost two years contributed every month Rs. 150. Thus Caemmerer could write in 1817: 'We are living now altogether on the kindness of the Rev. Bishop of Calcutta', and in 1819: 'The preservation of the mission so far we owe mainly to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta'.

It should not be overlooked that, according to the documents, the missionaries wrote to Bishop Middleton: 'should no help reach us by February, 1817, or should the mission funds in Copenhagen fail completely, we offer the honourable S.P.C.K., who have extended to us for a century so many valuable gifts and supplies, our humble services and the whole mission and its property....'. Nor should it be forgotten that when missionary Falke was sent from Halle in 1820 to serve the English Mission

he went to London and had himself episcopally ordained by the Bishop there. The Mission Director Knapp in Halle approved of his partaking of the Anglican Sacrament there, as did also Rottler in Madras. One must also bear in mind that it was the German Rottler, who first translated the Book of Common Prayer into Tamil, and on his own authority introduced it to the Lutheran congregation. He thought that there was nothing in it, 'which a Lutheran preacher could not subscribe to with a good conscience'.

Thus the Lutheran missionaries made it very easy for the Anglican Church to incorporate the Lutheran congregations and step into the inheritance of the Tranquebar mission. The German missionaries might have shown themselves more consciously Lutheran, if their Christian theology had not been undermined by the rationalism in Halle and in the mission. However, there were still the mission stations at Tranquebar, which could not be included in what was turned over to the S.P.G.

Caemmerer wrote on 19th September, 1834: 'I constantly think with sorrow about old times in the mission....and now see myself alone and forsaken with a congregation of 1400 and about 300 school children. (In 1791 there were 6,000 and 700 respectively.) Cholera and death from natural causes had swept away thousands. Many hundreds emigrated from poverty stricken Tranquebar to English territory, where they find a livelihood. In Madras alone there are about 400 Tranquebar Christians. The mission in Tranquebar, the mother of all other missions, has sunk down to a small institution in the locality'.

In 1824 the Danish Government planned to abolish the mission as an institution for conversion. Only the schools should remain, 'in which the knowledge necessary for everybody should be taught, thus to prepare the way for the true spread of Christianity in the future'.

The elderly Caemmerer gave his consent to this, but not the Mission Board in Copenhagen, which remembered the glorious past of the Tranquebar Mission. Then a Royal resolution of 18th May, 1825, determined that the office of the senior missionary should be combined with the pastorate of the Danish Zion Church. The Danish chaplain might work for conversions in cases where there were good prospects but no more money would be spent in spreading Christianity. Thus everything was placed upon the person and the spiritual zeal of the Danish clergymen. The name remained, but the mission was as good as abolished. Schreyvogel entered English service in 1826 and Caemmerer

remained as a pensioner who could hardly do much more than live in Tranquebar.

In contrast to the station taken by the English mission, all the properties of the mission within the colony and at Porayar were untouched. The institutions in Europe were kept for the mission, and the Mission Board remained intact, although there was hardly any active thought for missions in Denmark, nor anything to direct. This was necessary to provide a basis for the continuity of the work of the Lutheran fathers and the new beginning, but the Tranquebar Mission, which between 1706 and 1806 had gathered in 36,970 souls had come to an end. It was not a glorious end. It was a sad sign of the selfishness and poverty of the Christians and the Church in Europe, and especially in Germany, that the exit of the once famous Lutheran Tranquebar Mission touched them so little.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BRIDGE BUILDER

'The Lord has led me hither, and Tranquebar must be the centre from which the Lutheran mission activity must once more set out'. Thus wrote Heinrich Cordes, the man who was to be bridge builder from the church in Germany to the church in south India, from the broken down mission in Tranquebar to a new mission, that would lead to the foundation of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church, which in 1956 celebrates also at Tranquebar, the Quarter Millennium Jubilee. There is also a personal link between the old missionaries and the new generation through Cordes himself, because he married a grand-daughter of a missionary doctor who was also the daughter of Caemmerer, the last missionary of the Tranquebar mission. She and her mother were still in Tranquebar as a link from former times. Sophie Friedericke Caemmerer was confirmed by Cordes in October 1843 and on June 1st, 1844 he married her in Tranquebar when she was only seventeen.

In 1837 the last representative of Danish-Halle Mission, Dr. Caemmerer, died. In 1836 the Lutheran Mission Society had been established in Dresden, Saxony which was to direct the new beginning and later on continue it as the Leipzig Mission at Leipzig. Since 21st March, 1837, the young Cordes had been in Dresden, in order to be trained as a missionary. In him, as in Ziegenbalg, God performed wonders in the insigni-

ficant, for as a child he was often ill and as the sixth of seven children of a pastor, he needed more care than his brothers and sisters. But this sickly child God transformed into the pioneer of the new German mission work in south India. He himself said later on: 'With the weakest of his instruments the Lord wanted to accomplish something great, that the glory might be His alone'.

With seven children, his father was too poor to send Heinrich to a university, and he became a book dealer. Through this he came to a joyful faith in the Bible and to the certainty of salvation. Later on Cordes wrote he had experienced the truth of article five of the Augsburg Confession that, 'the Holy Ghost works faith, where and when He will in them that hear the Gospel, which teaches that we, through the merits of Christ, not through our own merits, have a gracious God, if we believe thus'. Rationalism had been overcome. In Cordes the new man grew up in the simple faith of the Bible.

He spent only two years at the seminary in Dresden yet he left as a qualified theologian profound in knowledge and ability. With a Latin letter, he introduced himself to his colleagues in Tranquebar. Soon he spoke English almost perfectly. In theology and in the Confessions of his Church, he was conversant to an unusual degree. This showed in his work, in his management of the mission entrusted to him as senior missionary, and in his decisions and writings.

The authorities of the Saxon church refused to examine candidates from the Mission Seminary or to ordain them as they were not considered theologians. Despite this, on 26th February, 1840, Cordes stood at the altar for ordination, in the small town of Greiz and on March 2nd, he was commissioned for India in the small church of the orphanage at Georgplatz. Hardly noticed by the town, almost unknown in the country, he was unknown to most pastors of the Church yet, it was a great day in the mission history.

Cordes was on the ship for 143 days, on the way to India. On 27th December, 1840 the ship entered Madras harbour and the first new messenger set foot on Indian soil. One bullock bandy was enough for him and his baggage. He set out for Tranquebar and on March 20th, in the morning he rode through the City gate of Tranquebar.

When Cordes celebrated the 25th anniversary of his ordination the Tamilians said: 'If Mr. Cordes had not come, who knows whether there would have been even a footprint left of the Lutheran Mission in Tamilnad?'.

Footprints there would have been, and other Lutheran missions also came, but it is doubtful whether, without the coming of Cordes at the right time, the connection with the old Tranquebar heritage could have been maintained. In Germany they had not forgotten Tranquebar and the stations founded from there. Again and again Christians concerned about missions had referred to the old work. In 1838 Pastor Wermelskirch travelled from Dresden to Copenhagen for negotiations. The Mission Board in Copenhagen was not unfavourable but wanted to call for a report from the Governor of Tranquebar. The Danish King received Wermelskirch in audience on 10th September, 1838, and assured him that he would confirm any decisions of the Mission Board about working together with the Germans. But nothing happened. The Mission Board remained silent.

Dresden therefore took a step forward as an act of faith. On 24th July, 1839, it was decided to begin anew, even without the agreement or help of the Danish Mission Board and without a Royal sanction. They decided that Cordes should investigate the conditions in India, especially in Tranquebar, and in this way to speed up or complete the establishment of a mission in India in continuance of the old Tranquebar mission. Cordes was to direct his attention 'to those districts where Lutheran mission stations formerly existed, especially to Tranquebar as the center from which they originated'. It was suggested to the young missionary to embellish his dealings with wisdom, modesty, humility, a quiet and considerate manner, and indulgence and forebearance against non-Lutheran missionaries and mission friends. In fact, Cordes distinguished himself especially through friendliness, mildness, and prudence.

In Madras, Cordes realized how immensely difficult the task of a true Lutheran missionary in India would be. English mission circles warned him about the 'improperly organized, stingy German mission'. They promised him a favourable reception, if he would decide to enter an English mission. Later on, he wrote about this: 'The voices which wanted to entice or frighten me away from my calling were not few. A friendly Englishman (the chaplain on the ship) promised me the most hearty reception into the best English mission, whichever I should choose. . . . a general conference of American and English missionaries warned me against the 'Romish practice to baptize unregenerate proselytes', which orginated in Tranquebar. The most capable of the missionaries there (Caldwell), who was inclined to Puseyism, told me with a certain amount of joy that none of his colleagues had succeeded in uprooting the Lutheran

view of the Sacraments from the old Tamil congregations. However, he did not want to know anything about the Lutheran teaching of justification by faith.

Cordes remained faithful to his commission. He wrote a letter in Latin to the Danish pastor, Knudsen, in Tranquebar. His reply of 28th February, 1841 is known to us. Knudsen informed Cordes that the mission organization was under his personal charge, the Government was friendly to him and had the supervision of the finances in the mission, and at the same time directly appointed subordinate posts, like national catechists, teachers, etc., and on the whole it represented the Royal Mission Board in Copenhagen in these affairs. He continued, 'however, I am the superintendent of the mission, appointed by the King just like the Government. I not only have the inner administration, the right to appoint to posts and assign moneys, full disciplinary powers and the responsibility for all conversions, but also I and the mission are under the Bishop of Seeland and the Mission Board in Copenhagen....neither interference by other sects or denominations nor persecution of proselytes are permitted....You will now see that no definite conditions can be specified for you here, however desirable this would be and it is necessary that the mission organization, which has been somewhat revived recently, be pushed forward with greater vigour. There is opportunity enough here for you to be useful, and I am very glad that you have decided to come yourself to this place and make closer acquaintance. I am convinced that this is the best way to eliminate all doubts. If after considering everything, you wish to help me, it will not be difficult to obtain permission for you, only you will have to follow the ritual and order which has been introduced here....You will already have had enough experience with regard to Indian missions, to realize that the active forces here do not in any way meet the demands of the work. From this you may conclude the feelings with which I await the wished-for help. It will be no trouble at all for me to provide you with a lodging in the town. My house is for a large family and I am not yet married so I expect you to be with me....'

Cordes was humble enough to begin as Knudsen's assistant. Soon both were united in brotherly cooperation. Knudsen, different from his rationalistic predecessor, preached the faith of the Bible and was faithful to the Confessions. On 16th April, 1841, Cordes was allowed to serve the mission as assistant, until further orders arrived from Copenhagen and Dresden.

A reply soon came from Copenhagen and Dresden that the

agreements made by the two men, Knudsen and Cordes, were sanctioned. Now Cordes could reach out further and in December he bought a house and garden in Porayar for Rs.550. This purchase seemed arbitrary to the Home Board. But this first possession was to have a special importance, for here the new Seminary began on 12th September, 1842 with twenty-three boys, among whom there were four non-Christians. On 26th February, 1842, Cordes was able to baptize his first convert.

However, things looked bad for Tranquebar and for the mission. Knudsen went to Europe. He protested vigorously that by the intended sale of the Danish colony the mission would also to be given over to the English.

On 3rd January, 1834 missionary Ochs arrived in Tranquebar and at Christmas, missionary Schwartz landed at Madras. Neither wanted to remain in Tranquebar, where they were repelled by the dependence of Cordes on the Government and on May 23rd they left Tranquebar and set out for Madras and Guntur. But Cordes did not yield, although under these uncertain conditions he stood alone and had to see how a Wesleyan attempted to estrange the students at the Seminary, by promising them food and clothing, through a Catechist.

Tranquebar is maintained 'because the historical ground is dear to us.' Thus said the first Mission Director, the young Karl Graul. The desire to continue was strengthened through a donation of the station at Mayavaram by the Collector H. Stokes. On 1st February, 1845, this first station on English territory was taken over by the Dresden (later Leipzig) Mission. Tranquebar was soon to come under English rule and the mission along with it. In the beginning of 1845, Bishop Spencer of Madras said quite openly in Tranquebar that the C.M.S. would take over the Tranquebar Mission. On 15th March, 1845 the Bishop wrote to Cordes: 'My dear Sir, I have read in the newspapers that a treaty has been signed according to which the Danish possessions will be ceded to the English Government. Would you kindly inform me whether you will continue as mission preacher in Tranquebar or not? In case this post should be deprived of your esteemed services, I shall do my utmost to take care of the poor souls....' Agents of the English mission tried to sell more and more Common Prayer books and in this way make propaganda for the doctrines of the English Church.

The Danish Governor called for Cordes on October 11th, nd explained that as Governor he would have preferred the nission to become English but that Copenhagen did not want

this. It was the express wish of the King that the mission must remain Lutheran. Therefore he wanted to turn over the missions to be administered provisionally by Cordes. His advice to Copenhagen was, that if the mission had to remain Lutheran, it would be best to turn it over to the Lutherans of the Dresden Society.

On 14th April, 1846, Governor Hansen provisionally transferred the mission to the Evangelical Lutheran Mission at Dresden. With it went the two churches in Tranquebar and in Porayar, all schools and mission houses, (with the exception of one school building and two residences, which the teacher Eibye inhabited) as well as the inventory and the mission-garden near Olugamangalam. All this was due to the intervention of the Danish Mission Board, to which Cordes expressed his thanks on May 4th. 'Without this energetic intervention of the Board, this mission would have been lost for our church'.

The long wait for five years in a subordinate post had been rewarded. Now he waited for the change over from a provisional to a permanent settlement. Again the Danish Board let a long time pass. Even the journey of Director Graul to Copenhagen in June, 1846 brought no decision.

Then the Tamil Christians, in August, 1846 sent to the Mission Board a petition 'that our Mission may further be maintained as a Lutheran Mission, still under the supervision of the Royal Mission Board and carried on by the German missionaries of the Dresden Society working here (especially the Rev. Missionary Cordes, to whom the mission has now been entrusted)'. Finally, in a document of the Danish Mission Board of 7th March, 1847, the full transfer of the Mission was completed.

It was also laid down, that the Rs. 2,200 interest from three investments totalling Rs. 55,000, be paid every year from Copenhagen to the German Mission. This regulation is still in force to day. This donation and the regular prayer of intercession for the Danish Royal House every Sunday in the Jerusalem church are the remaining links of the old tie between Tranquebar and Copenhagen.

After Tranquebar was again occupied by Lutheran missionaries, many of the Christians who had drifted to the English Church during the period of decline returned to the Lutheran Church.

Since 1836, the Leipzig (former Dresden) Mission, has taken possession of the heritage. Their missionaries have worked with diligence and faithfulness in building up the Tamil church. Later, the Church of Sweden Mission came to work side by side

with the Leipzig Mission. The fruit of this common work is the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church and although not the largest today, it is the oldest Lutheran Church in India.

May it preserve the heritage of the Fathers
To the blessing of its members,
For the welfare of their country.

'The time is short. The work is difficult. The reckoning is high. The Judge is before the door. God grant that we may all be His faithful servants! Amen.' (R. Rocholl)